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M CM XI

Liges, voulons et devons leur donner liberallement ; à sçavoir aux treize Cantons, à un chacun, particulièrement aussi au Pais de Walais deux mil francs, et les leur faire délivrer annuellement en la Ville de Lion au jour de Nôtre-Dame de Chandleur, commençant à la prochaine venant et toujours ensuivant au même jour. Et quant aux Grisons¹ nous voulons qu'ils soient entretenus en la maniere qu'ils estoient par feu de noble recordation le Roi Louis XII. Item, promettons ausdits treize Cantons outre la somme susdite leur paier et délivrer annuellement encore deux mil francs, comme iceux les ont départis à leurs Coalliez, ainsi que s'ensuit ; à sçavoir l'Abbé de Saint Gal et son Abbaie, et à la Comté de Togemburg six cens francs qui est à chacune partie trois cens livres, à la Ville de Milhuzen quatre cens, et aux sujets de la Comté de Gruieres six cens francs, à sçavoir à ceux de Gissenai, et à ceux de dessus de Volten quatre cens francs, et à ceux de la Ville de Gruieres, compris ceux qui sont dessous le Volten, ensemble ceux qui sont de la Seigneurie de Corbieres et leurs adherans, les autres deux cens francs.

No. 155. The Federal Constitution.

The *Swissers*, which are those people whom the ancients called *Helvetians*, have their habitations in the highest mountains of *Jura*, of *Valesia*, and *S. Godar*: and are naturally valiant, warlike, and rude, and for the sterility of the country, rather shepherds than tillers of the ground. They have bene in times past under the subjection of the Dukes of *Austria*, whose jurisdiction they have shaken off many yeares since. They govern themselves, without any dependencie of either Emperours, Kings or other Princes. They are divided into thirteene communalities, which they call Cantons, each of them being severally governed by their particular Magistrates, lawes and ordinances. They hold their Councell every yeare, or more often if occasion require, wherein they dispute of universall affaires, their assemblies and meetings being not subject to certaintie of places, but referred as best pleaseth the Deputies of every Canton. They call those assemblies dyots or journeys, according to the custom of the *Germaines*: wherein they deliberate of peace, of warre, of confederations, of the demands of such as make instance to levie souldiers by publike decree, or that such as are willing may be per-

¹ By the treaty of 1509 they received 6000 francs per annum.

mitted : and of such things as appertaine to their publike good. When they agree by publike decree to deliver souldiers, the Cantons chuse among themselves a Capitaine generall, to whom they give the banner with the Ensign and name publike. Their unitie and the glory of their armes hath made famous the name of this so savage and barbarous a nation : insomuch as by their naturall valour, joyned to due discipline and order, they have not only at all times valiantly defended their own country, but have also employed themselves in forreine wars, and performed singular feates of armes to their perpetuall praise ; which had been without all comparison far greater, if they had employed their forces for their owne jurisdiction, and not bene mercenary for the increasing of the dominion of strangers, or if they had set before their eyes an end more noble than the desire of money, by the love whereof suffering themselves to be corrupted, they have lost the occasion to be feared and redoubted in *Italy*. For, coming out of their cuntry no otherwise but as mercenary souldiers, they have carried backe no publicke fruite of their victories : the desire of gaine making them to follow armies with huge pensions, and new demands of payes almost intollerable : and besides, to such as wage them, they carry themselves very frowardly and obstinately. At home, the chief of them forbear not to receive gifts and pensions of Princes, to follow and favour their faction in their dyots. By reason whereof, publike things being referred to private profite, and favours and voices being made vendible and corrupted, discords by litle and litle have crept in among themselves, whereby it came to passe, that matters which had bin approved in their dyots by the most part of the Cantons, being not embraced and followed of the residue, they fell at last and that not long since, to manifest warres among themselves, much to the diminution of the authoritie which they bare in the world. Somewhat below these be certaine townes and villages inhabited by a people called *Valesians*,¹ as having their dwellings in valleys ; they are inferior to the *Swissers* in number, in publike authoritie, and in valour, for that in the judgement of all men they are not so hardy as the *Swissers*. There is also, yet more lower than these, another sort of people called *Grisons*,² which are

¹ The 'allied' (1416) Confederation of the Vallais (cf. Oechsli,² *op. cit.* i. No. 53).

² The 'allied' (1497, 8) Confederation of the Graubünden or Grisons (*ibid.* Nos. 86, 87).

governed by three Cantons, and thereupon are called Lords of the three Leagues. The capital town of their country is called *Coire*: they have societie and confederation with the *Swissers*, and with them they go to the warre: they have almost the same policie, the same lawes, the same manners, and for warlike matters are preferred afore the *Valesians*, but they hold no companion with the *Swissers*, either in numbers or in valour. . . .

No. 156. Heinrich Göldli's defence before the Diet, 13 March 1520.

In regard to the second article, it is true, I have in time past taken up livings and have requested them of the Pope. I serve the Pope for no other cause, nor have I any other reward or wage from the Pope, neither I nor others of His Holiness' servants, except such livings as happen to fall vacant in the Pope's month, which His Holiness presents to us, every one in his own country. . . . I hope that although I have made ~~contract or agreement~~ regarding living, which I have lawfully received from his Holiness the Pope for my services over against an evil day, I have had the power and right to do so, so that I may act as I please with mine own and may gain mine own benefit and advantage. . . .

I have never in my life surrendered anything from which I have had profit without having given written evidence and laid myself under written obligation, so that, in case it should be disputed by anybody and I failed to protect him with my title and at my own expense in the holding of the living, I should be in duty bound to pay back all costs and damages, as well as all that I have received from him. . . .

. . . . In regard to the third article, that I have sold livings in the same way as horses are sold at Zurzach, I have never in all my life sold a living or bought it in this way, for that is simony, and whoever buys and sells livings ought to be deprived of them. But I have, when I have delivered over a living, by permission of his Holiness, demanded and taken the costs to which I have been put, and also have caused a yearly pension to be allowed me out of the living, a thing which is permitted me by the Pope, and concerning which I have my bulls, letters and seals; for this is a common custom among the clergy. . . .

. . . . Furthermore, the Pope has given me the reservation of the provostship of Zurzach, so that when the present provost,

Peter Attenhofer, shall die, his provostship shall fall to me. I have also for this the letter and seal, and have paid the annates, as the firstfruits are called, to the *camera apostolica*.

No. 157. The admissions of Canon Hofmann,
Dec. 1521.

Zwingli ought to be more careful about the wanton charges and sharp sallies . . . with which he assails the several estates, offices, orders, and communities, spiritual and lay. He is alleged to have said 'that among a hundred or a thousand spiritual persons, priests, monks, nuns, brethren, sisters and the like, scarcely a single one can be found that does not do and practise unchastity; that those who do not openly practise the same do worse, as he had come to know through the confessional at Einsiedeln; and that Beguines or sisters carry love-letters about with them and are procuresses.' It would be worth a good deal if such things did not happen.

§ I. GERMAN SWITZERLAND

III

ZWINGLI THE HUMANIST, TO 1519

Huldreich Zwingli was born, 1 Jan. 1484, at Wildhaus, in the Toggenburg, of peasant but well-to-do parents. His father was mayor and his uncle the parish priest. The latter became dean of Wesen, 1487-†1513, on the Walensee, and took his nephew with him to begin his education. Then he sent him to school, first to Basel, 1494-8; and next, to Bern, 1498-1500, with Heinrich Wölflin (Lupulus, †1534), a humanist, and, later, a reformer of that city. Thence Zwingli was removed to the University of Vienna, 1500-2, where he afterwards maintained his younger brother James, 1512-†17, a letter from whom gives a picture of [No. 158] student-life in Vienna (*Zwinglii Opera*, vii. 7, edd. Schuler and Schulthess) at that time. In 1502 Zwingli matriculated at Basel: and there supported himself by teaching (*ibid.* vii. 85) in the school of St. Martin's church till he proceeded B.A. 1504 and M.A. 1506. In his last year he attended the lectures of the humanist, Thomas Wytttenbach, 1472-†1526, of Biel (Bienné), himself to become a reformer there and now, in Basel, the teacher of other reformers and humanists besides Zwingli, viz., Wolfgang Köpfli (Capito), 1487-†1541, reformer of Strassburg, Conrad Kürschner (Pellicanus), 1478-†1556, professor of Hebrew at Zurich,

and Leo Jud, 1482-†1542, pastor of St. Peter's, Zürich, and translator of the Scriptures. Twice in later years, 1519 and 1527, Zwingli recalls [No. 159] his debt to Wyttenbach (*ibid.* i. 273; iii. 543).

From 1506-16 Zwingli was parish priest of Glarus, in his uncle's deanery. Here his first literary efforts (*ibid.* II. ii. 243 sqq.) were those of a humanist and patriot against mercenary service other than the Pope's. But to serve the Pope contingents went from Glarus into Italy, 1512, 1513, and 1515. Zwingli thrice accompanied them as chaplain, and has left an account (*ibid.* iv. 167) of the first of these campaigns. In 1513 he became pensionary for Glarus, and himself accepted a papal pension (*ibid.* i. 365). At home, these were years of the study of Greek 'non gloriae sed sacratissimarum literarum ergo' (*ibid.* vii. 9), of [No. 160] enthusiasm for Erasmus (*ibid.* i. 314: and a letter of 29 April 1516: *ibid.* vii. 12), and of [No. 161] liturgical discoveries (*ibid.* i. 265; iii. 87 sq., 92), which set him thinking on the claims of Rome. But his criticism of the pensionaries roused the French interest at Glarus against him (*ibid.* vii. 165) and he moved away.

From 1516-18 he was people's priest (14 Apr. 1516: cf. Egli, *Analecta Reformatoria*, i. 16) at [No. 162] Einsiedeln (Letter of 13 June 1517: *Opera*, vii. 24). Einsiedeln was then, as now, a famous place of pilgrimage: and it was directed by humanists (*ibid.* vii. 59). Zwingli preached from the Gospel at Mass, 'relying much upon the Fathers as expositors' (*ibid.* i. 253); 'told the Cardinal of Sitten . . . at Einsiedeln . . . that the papacy had a false foundation, and supported the same from Scripture' (*ibid.* II. i. 7); and wrote freely to fellow-humanists about the pardoner, Bernhardin Samson, who, much to the disgust of Faber, 1478-†1541, the Vicar-General of Constance (*ibid.* vii. 69), appeared in Schwyz, August 1518. The letter, 6 Dec. 1518 (*ibid.* vii. 57) of [No. 163] Beatus Rhenanus (Bild, of Schlettstadt, 1485-†1547), in reply, illustrates the temper of amusement rather than of indignation with which Zwingli and his circle as yet viewed the business. It was therefore quite possible for him to accept the appointment, 1 Sept. 1518, of Acolyte Chaplain to the Pope (Egli, *op. cit.* i. 19), bestowed as on a person worth retaining.

As such, too, his humanist friend and biographer, Oswald Geisshäussler (Myconius, 1488-†1552), schoolmaster of the Great Minster at Zürich, pressed him on the chapter for the office of people's priest (*Opera*, vii. 52). Zwingli was elected 11 Dec. 1518 (*ibid.* 59), and admitted 1 Jan. 1519. He began to preach not, as at Einsiedeln, on the liturgical Gospels, but in continuous exposition of 'the Gospel of Matthew, the Acts of the Apostles, the Epistles to Timothy, to the Galatians and both the Epistles of Peter' (Sermon of 30 March 1522, 'Concerning choice and liberty respecting food,' *ibid.* i. 36: tr. Jackson, *Zwingli*, 448), and without reference to the Fathers. Scarcely had he thus settled in Zürich as preacher of the New Learning when its patron [No. 164]

Leo X admonished Samson, 1 May 1519 (*Opera*, vii. 79, n. 2), and with the usual complaisance of Popes to the Swiss, left it to the Diet to send him off, if they wished (J. H. Hottinger, *Hist. Eccl. Novi Test.* vii. 178 sqq.), 1 May 1519.

No. 158. Student-life in Vienna, c. 1513; James Zwingli to his brother.

Utinam Deus omnitenens, superbonusque ita ferret, ut quanti ego tuam facio liberalitatem fraternitatemque, tanti in meum studium facere possis! Quod quidem non despero; abs te enim quum exemplis adhortationibusque (quibus locum non relinquere degenerantis esset) augeri possum, tum a M. Ioachimo Vadiano,¹ cuius nunc alumnus ago, omnium scientiarum flosculis rivulisque enutrior, a quibus philosophiae insciantes discedere nephas esset. Iccirco vitio neque hoc neque illo polluar; quin non iugi labore contendam, non dubita! Unica tamen cura mihi relictæ. Iis aureis 50 mihi destinatis biennio vitam traducere non possem. Haec non meopte Marte non quod gulæ adeo deditus sim, queror. Vivo hercle minus delicate. Eduliis ex Bursa allatis vescor, aquam, quæ nulla benedictione pristinum saporem amittere dignatur, potare cogor. Verum a Ioachimo monitus præter hos xv aureos quos accepi, 50 mihi suppeditent, cui et tu assentire potes, si rem meam noveris. Nam quum Vienna me exceperit, ob viaticum tantum xi aurei mihi restabant, quibus tum codices vii aureis tum cubile mihi comparavi. Profecto pecuniae tam præcoces nostris evolarunt manibus, ut vix nummus relictus sit; denique esculentorum procuratori x florenos, M. Ioachimo v singulis annis persolvam, quod ni xxx aureos quolibet anno sperare possem, fieri nequit. Iccirco, Germane mi, tuatim semper optumi consule, meisque adhortationibus aures redde placatas; ego meatim nutui tuo semper subiacebo. De meo studio, qui vix labra admovi, plura scribere nequeo. Pliniana lectione, deficiente exemplari, parum proficio. Lactantium *de Opificio* ac ceteris a Camerte,² ista tempestate Viennensium doctissimo, cum summa diligentia audio. Ciceronis epistolas ex nostro Ioachimo, textum *Sententiarum* a quodam P. literarum Baccalaureo audio. Studeo

¹ Joachim von Watt, 1484-†1551: born at St. Gall; professor of Latin at Vienna, 1510-18; physician to the city of St. Gall, 1518; reformer there, 1524-†51.

² Johannes Camertes, professor of Divinity at Vienna and a friend of Watt.

tandem, licet invitus, Dialectica; audio praeterea tum haec tum illa, quae omnia enarrare non necesse est. Quantum quolibet proficiam, cum extremam manum cuilibet imposuero, perspicietur. Haec hactenus.

Caeterum pecuniae ad me spectantes circa x Kal. Apr. ad Franciscum Zili, Valentin Tschudii¹ avum, civem Gallensem, ut ferantur rogo peragas. Haec eadem ad Abbatem² scripsi, patremque rogavi iussu Praeceptoris mei me honesta tunica vestiat. Itcirco quam primum literas ad eos scriptas inisent, perfice ut omnia tempore maturo agantur. Alterius ad Decanum³ datas maturime pellegant. Ego enim et illarum scriptor in una navi laboramus. Valentini necessarios ad liberalitatem hortator! Parci enim sunt quamquam dites.

Si quae nova apud te sunt, ad nos trans mitte. Non procul a nobis inter Hungaros et Turcas diu ancipite Marte pugnatum est, quod magnum terrorem Austriacis infert. Literas has impolitas non corrugata fronte pellege! Vale cum Metelli felicitate annos Nestoreos. Salveto nostros dominos Iohannem, D. Gregorium Suandensem,⁴ combibonem Fridolinum, Germanam. Datae Viennae Pannoniae ex aedibus D. Hieronymi. Ao. 13^{mo} supra sesquimilesimum, x Kal. Febr. (20 Febr. 1513).

No. 159. Zwingli's debt to Wytttenbach, c. 1506.

(a) From his *Expositio . . . Articulorum*, 1523, Art. xviii
(*Op.* i. 273).

Anno [MD]xix quum Tigurum concessissem et ibidem praedicare coepissem, indicabam venerabilibus domino Praeposito ceterisque collegii illius capitularibus me posthac praedicaturum esse Evangelium Matthaei, idque absque humanis commentationibus ex solis fontibus Scripturae sacrae. Initio eius anni nemo apud nos de Luthero quiddam audierat, praeterquam quod de indulgentiis quiddam prodierat, quod me parum erudire poterat, quum iam antea satis scirem indulgentiarum negotium nihil esse quam fucum et dolum. Didiceram hoc ex disputatione quadam quam doctissimus vir Doctor Thomas Wittenbach Bielensis, patronus et carissimus praeceptor meus, ante aliquot Basileae in consessu publico in schola ac palaestra theologica licet me absente habuerat. Me tunc in

¹ Valentine Tschudi, Zwingli's successor at Glarus, 1522-†55.

² A relative of Zwingli's, and abbot of Old St. John's, two miles west of Wildhaus.

³ His uncle Bartholomew Zwingli, dean of Wesen.

⁴ Dr. John Gregory, a priest of Schwanden.

Matthaei praedicatione Lutheri scriptis parum esse adiutum, quis non videt? Ad cuius tamen praedicationem turmatim adcurrerant quotquot veritatis erant cupidi, adeo ut ipse mirarer. Adpello iam vos, O hostes doctrinae Christi! quis me tum Lutheranum convitiabatur? Quum iam prodiret libellus Lutheri in Dominicam orationem et ego non ita pridem hanc precem in Matthaeo explicassem, memini adhuc fuisse quosdam ex piis, qui me huius libelli auctorem insimularent, contenderentque me Lutheri nomen praefixisse ut auctoris nomen dissimularem. Quis me tum Lutheranum esse accusare potuit? . . .

(b) From his *Amica exegesis . . . ad M. Lutherum*, 1527
(*Op.* iii. 543).

Fide in Christum Iesum rectissime docuisti salutem obtineri; sed cur secundum hanc doctrinam tribuis quid nescio quibus clavibus? Cur purgatorium non evertis? Cur non agnosces unum ac solum mediatorem Dei atque hominum Christum Iesum? Excidis tibi nonnunquam. Fidem ergo cum explicares ac in pugna indulgentiarum semper aliquid clavibus incircumspectius donares, plurimum torquebas nos, ante annos aliquot a Thoma Vitembachio, viro et doctissimo et piissimo, iam superis quoque grato, praeceptore nostro, doctos solam Christi mortem pretium esse remissionis peccatorum. Fides ergo clavis est quae menti scrinium remissionis peccatorum reserat. Ea quum adest, nihil aliud sitit aut esurit. Nos inquam torquebas quod non plane videres claves nihil aliud esse quam evangelii fidem.

No. 160. Zwingli's enthusiasm for Erasmus, c. 1514-6.

(a) From his *Expositio . . . Articulorum*, 1523, Art. xx
(*Op.* i. 314).

Non celabo vos, carissimi fratres, quo pacto in hanc sententiam venerim, persuasumque habeam certissime, praeter Christum nullo nobis mediatore opus esse. Ante annos novem aut octo plus minus carmen¹ quoddam legi Erasmi Roterodami viri doctissimi, in quo Christus cum hominibus expostulat quae tandem causa sit quod stulti homines non omnia apud eum quaerant, quum tamen solus ipse fons sit omnis boni, servator et benefactor, consolatio denique et thesaurus animi. Carmen est eruditum et elegantissimum.

¹ 'Expостulatio Iesu cum homine suapte culpa pereunte,' *Erasmi Opera*, V, coll. 1319 sq. (Lugd. Bat. 1704).

Quod quum legerem mox cogitavi: Omnino sic est ut hic legis. Cur ergo pro auxilio ad creaturam adcurrimus? Tametsi vero et alia quaedam Erasmi carmina quae ad Mariam, Annam et Michaellem ut patronos scripserat legerem: non potuerunt tamen me a praecepta sententia de Christo avellere. Hunc enim vidi unicum esse thesaurum pii pectoris; quin coepi scriptis biblicorum sacrorum veterumque patrum diligentius intendere, certius quiddam ex his de divorum intercessione venaturus. In bibliis sacris plane nihil reperi; apud quosdam veterum de ea re inveni, apud alios nihil. Qui de divorum intercessione affirmabant, parum me moverunt: inermes enim erant et scripturarum testimoniis omnino destituti. Quod si aliquando ex armamentariis scripturarum tela proferebant, videbam ea misere et temere detorta. Factum ergo est ut quo magis de dogmate illo scrutarer, hoc minus occurreret quod scripturis esset consentaneum: quin contra plura quae pugnarent. . . .

(b) From his *Letter of 29 April 1516*.

Scripturum ad te, D. Erasme, virorum optime, terret hinc eruditionis tuae splendor ille, capacior sane quam sit quem cernimus orbem, postulans invitat illinc suavissima humanitas tua quam te videndi causa, vere mox ante ingruesscente, Basileam venienti exhibuisti, non mediocri benignitatis argumento quod infantem hominem, ignotum literatorem, haud es dignatus. Sed plane hoc Helvetico sanguini (cuius ingenia subolfeci non adeo maxime tibi displicere) dedisti Henrico Glarcano,¹ quem familiarissime tibi coniunctum vidimus.

Mirari autem vehementer potuisti, ecquid non domi manserim, quando nullam interim quaestionis quantumlibet arduae (quod tui solent mataeologi) dissolutionem nedum petiverim. Verum ubi nos energiam illam in te quaesisse ratiocinando deprehenderis, mirari desines: hanc enim, me Hercules, cum morum comitate vitaeque commoditate inconviventer, minus etiam verecunde tantum suspeximus ut te, ubi tua legimus, loquentem audire et corpusculo hoc tuo minuto, verum minime inconcinno, urbanissime gestientem videre videar. Nam (et verbo absit invidia!) tu nobis amasius ille es, cui ni confabulati simus, somnum non capimus.

Sed quorsum tandem stridulis hisce aures eruditissimas fatigo? cum graculos humi vesci debere non nesciam. Istorum

¹ Heinrich Loriti, of Mollis, near Glarus 1488-†1563.

certe, ut nos peracti ad te itineris (quod Hispani Gallique olim Romam euntes videndi Livii causa, referente divo Hieronymo, fecerunt) scias tantum abesse ut poeniteat ut magnum etiam fecisse nomen nos existimemus non alia re magis gloriantes quam Erasmum vidisse, virum de literis Scripturaeque sacrae arcanis meritissimum. . . .

No. 161. Zwingli's liturgical discoveries.

(a) From his *Expositio . . . Articulorum*, 1523, Art. xviii
(*Op.* i. 265).

. . . Disertis ergo et expressis verbis cavet, dicens : 'Bibite ex eo *omnes* !' nullum omnino excipiens, qui *omnes* dicit. Iam quomodo ausi sunt stultissimi homines institutionem Christi in hac sacratissima coena invertere aut concidere, quum verba Christi tam clara sint ? praesertim quum ambae species tam panis quam vini in Germania apud Helvetios in usu fuerint, non solum viris et mulieribus, sed etiam pueris et adultis ? Testimonia huius rei certa adferam. Nam quum minister essem apud Glaronam Helvetiorum, librum ibidem reperi (obsequiale vocant pontificii) in Mollis vetustissimum, sed integrum adhuc et nulla parte quod ad literas adtinet vitiatum. Titulus erat (rubricam vocant) in eo loco quo de ritu baptizandi praescribitur huius argumenti : Baptizato puero mox detur Eucharistiae sacramentum ! Similiter poculum sanguinis ! Non hic probo hunc usum quo sacramentum Christi pueris datum est, sed hoc tantum ostendo coelestem hanc alimoniam aliquando sub utraque specie in nostris terris datam esse. . . . Quamdiu mos iste apud Glaronenses duraverit certum non est, sed hoc certum est non esse ducentos abhinc annos quod hic mos in usu fuerit in Mollis. . . .

(b) From his *De canone Missae*, 1523 (*Op.* iii. 88).

Alterum argumentum assumptionis huius est, quod hunc Canonem necesse foret media inter Ambrosium Gregoriumque tempestate conflatum esse : nam si ante Ambrosii tempora fuisset, nefas erat eum, isto posthabito, novum condere : aut si id licuit, verget hoc ad ingens praeiudicium Romanae sedis : permittet enim aliis Episcopis licere quod Ambrosio, nempe ut Romano pontifici suum sibi Canonem relinquant et quisque apud se proprium condant. Unde verisimilius est hunc quem in manibus habemus Canonem, recentius natum quam ut superiorum quisquam quicquam ad eum adiecerit. Adparetque nihil aliud quam precularum quarundam, tametsi aliquantisper

piorum, sed non usque adeo doctorum hominum, quas illi vel publice vel privatim effuderunt, esse congestionem. Quid igitur attinet ei tam superstitiose haerere, cum etiamnum liceat Insubribus Ambrosii sui praescripto uti, qui nunquid Christiani non sunt? Christiano igitur et mihi licebit Christiano Canone uti citra omnem vel fidei vel nominis iacturam. . . .

No. 162. Zwingli at Einsiedeln, 1516-18.

From a *Letter to Joachim Watt*, 13 June 1517.

. . . Locum mutavimus non cupidinis aut cupiditatis moti stimulis, verum Gallorum technis; et nunc Eremi¹ sumus. . . . Quid cladis nobis attulerit tandem factio illa Gallica, dudum famae ventus ad vos perflavit; omnia tamen, nisi dudum scisse te non dubitare, percenserem. Fuimus enim pars quoque rerum gestarum; calamitates enim multas vel tulimus vel ferre didicimus. . . .

No. 163. Beatus Rhenanus on Indulgences, 6 Dec. 1518.

Recte fecisti, vir optime, qui statim nos literis tuis certiores reddideris quidnam in re illa quam te diligentissime curaturum receperas, egisses. Nam scis quam nobis curae sit ea res, et ut fit, cum animi pendetur, negotium infelicius successisse putassemus, nisi nobis eum scrupulum ademisses. 'Ο μὲν καρδινάλιος² οὐ μοι πάνυ πιστὸς εἶναι δοκεῖ· καὶ τὸς γὰρ ἐκείνης τῆς κωμωδίας εἰς ἔστι, ἃν μὴ ἡ ἀτυχία αὐτοῦ τὸν νοῦν μετέβαλεν. De Lutherio nihil dum comperti habemus. Risimus abunde veniarum institorem,³ quem in literis tuis graphice depinxisti. Dant belli ducibus literas pro perituris in bello. Quam sunt haec frivola et Pontificiis Legatis indigna. Quid non tandem excogitabitur, ut nummis nostris potiatur Italia? Nec vero risu haec digna puto, sed lacrimis potius. Nam nihil est quod magis mihi doleat quam quod video Christianum populum passim caeremoniis nihil ad rem pertinentibus onerari, imo meris naeniis. Et causam non aliam reperio quam quod sacerdotes per summularios istos et sophisticos theologos decepti ethnicam aut Iudaicam doctrinam docent. De vulgo sacerdotum loquor. Neque enim me latet te tuique similes purissimam Christi philosophiam ex ipsis fontibus populo proponere,

¹ At Einsiedeln. Einsiedler = a hermit.

² Matthew Schinner, Bishop of Sitten 1499-†1522.

³ Bernhardin Samson.

non Scoticis¹ aut Gabrielicis² interpretationibus depravatam ; sed ab Augustino, Ambrosio, Cypriano, Hieronymo, germane et sincere expositam. Deblaterant illi nugas in eo loco stantes, ubi quicquid dicitur populus verissimum esse putat, de Pontificia potestate, de condonationibus, de purgatorio, de fictis divorum miraculis, de restitutione, de contractibus, de votis, de poenis inferorum, de Antichristo. At vos pro concione dicentes universam Christi doctrinam breviter velut in tabella quadam depictam ostenditis ; propterea missum in terras a Deo Christum, ut doceret nos voluntatem Patris sui, ut ostenderet mundum hunc, hoc est, divitias, honores, imperium, voluptates et hoc genus alia plane contemni debere, caelestem vero patriam toto pectore quaerendam ; ut doceret nos pacem et concordiam ac pulchram rerum omnium communionem (nam nihil aliud est Christianismus) qualem olim Plato, magnis annumerandus prophetis, utcunque in sua Republica somniasse visus est ; ut adimeret nobis stultos terrenarum rerum affectus in patriam, in parentes, in cognatos, in sanitatem et in cetera bona, ut paupertatem et rerum huius vitae incommoda non esse mala declararet. Nam eius vita doctrina est, omnem humanam excellens.—Sed quo me scribendi rapit ardor, ut familiarem exorsus epistolam declamare velut mei oblitus occoeperim? Utinam tui similes multos haberet Helvetia! Sic tandem facile fieri posset ut meliores mores nostrates induerent. Est certe populus utcunque corrigibilis, si modo talibus non destituatur qui Christum docere et possint et velint. Bene vale. Basileae, die D. Nicolai, 1518.

No. 164. Letters of Leo X to Samson and to the Diet, 1 May 1519.

(a) From the Pope's *Letter to Samson*, per Fr. Ioh. Bapt. de Puppio.

Conquesti sunt Magnifici Domini XIII Cantonum Helvetiorum apud Summum Pontificem de tua paternitate te in promulgatione Indulgentiarum in quosdam errores, quos longum esset istis inserere, incidisse. Ob quam causam sua Sanctitas quam plurimum admirata mihi vivae vocis oraculo iniunxit, ut tibi suo nomine praeciperem, ut voluntati praefatorum Dominorum Helvetiorum per omnia te coaptas, atque si te cum eis usque ad consummationem tuae commissionis manere decreverint, moram trahas : si autem in Italiam reverti,

¹ Duns Scotus, †1308.

² Gabriel Biel, †1495.

nulló pacto eisdem obsistas. Quin voluntas S. D. N. haec est ut illis Dominis, suae Sanctitatis dilectissimis filiis in his quae ad spirituales consolationem conducunt, penitus morem geras. Praesentes literas ostendet vestra paternitas Magnificis Dominis Helvetiorum. Ex conventu Ara Coeli 1 May 1519.

(b) The Pope's *Letter to the Diet*, by the same.

Magnifici et honorabiles Domini, post debitam commendationem et salutem. Quum S. D. N. tum pro divini nominis propagatione, tum pro animarum salute, tum etiam pro basilicae Principis Apostolorum de urbe restauratione, per divisas provincias indulgentias plenarias aliasque gratias in literis apostolicis desuper confectis contentas destinavit, noluit tamen sua Sanctitas tresdecim Helvetiorum Cantones ab illarum participatione esse desertos: quos quidem, ut experientia comprobatur, vere catholicos sanctaeque R. E. fidelissimos filios ac ad illius defensionem promptissimos novit: sed ad illos suum commissarium, Patrem et F. Bernhardinum Sansonium, Ord. Frat. Minor. Regular. Observant., cum plena praedicatione Indulgentiarum Commissioni destinavit. Nec illum, Magnifici Domini, pro negotio tam arduo tamque salubri ad vos misisset, nisi hunc scientia moribusque refertum sua Sanctitas comprobasset. Verum his diebus idem S. D. N. per literas vestras certior factus est eundem F. Bernhardinum, in praefatione praefatarum indulgentiarum, in quosdam errores (ut fertur) incidisse: pro quibus sua Sanctitas, quam plurimum admirata, mihi vivae vocis oraculo commisit ut vobis suo nomine denuntiarem ut si isdem F. Bernhardinus in sua praedicatione sit vobis molestus, cum bona pace tranquilloque animo a vobis in Italiam transmittatur. Si autem illum adhuc sustinere ac audire vultis, placet eidem suae Sanctitati ut vobiscum tam diu moram trahat quam diu suae commissionis tempus extendetur. Vult enim sua S. in omnibus quae vobis ad animarum salutem conducunt morem gerere. Quapropter, Magnifici Domini, vos omnes rogatos esse velim ut eundem F. Bernhardinum, si in Italiam transmeare mavultis quam vobiscum degere, sine aliqua molestia discedere permittatis. (Qui quidem si in dicendo erravit, paratus erit etiam coram S. D. N. de se rationem reddere, poenamque pro erratis sustinere. . . . Io. Bapt. de Puppio, Ord. Min. Reg. Obs., S. D. N. in facultatibus sac. Lublaci pro fabrica Princ. Apost. de urbe Commissarius.

IV

THE ISOLATION OF ZÜRICH, 1520-1

On 10 August 1519 the plague broke out in Zürich; Zwingli fell a victim about the end of September (*Opera*, vii. 87, n. 1) and was ill till the following March (*ibid.* 124). But he preached at intervals; and by 31 Dec. 1519 (*ibid.* 104) had won adherents, 'plus duobus millibus,' in spite of [No. 165] **opposition** both from the three houses of Friars in the city and from the Chapter, 16 Feb. 1520 (*ibid.* 116). In 1520 he renounced his papal pension, 'litteris propria manu consignatis' (*ibid.* i. 365), and began to influence the public action of the city: for [No. 166] **the Town Council** took action in favour of purely Biblical preaching (*ap.* Ranke, *Ref.* 515, n. 2). Next year, when Zwingli became, 29 April 1521, Canon (Egli, *Analecta Reformatoria*, i. 22 sqq.), and thus citizen, of Zürich, so effective was his [No. 167] **preaching** in opposition to pensions and pensionaries (Bullinger, *ap.* *Zwinglii Opera*, II. ii. 350) that Francis I was forced to make alliance, 5 May 1521, with the twelve Cantons only (Oechsli,² i. No. 116), while [No. 168] **Zürich and its Communes** [Gemeinden], 16-23 May 1521, **repudiated the mercenary system** (*ibid.* ii. No. 160). Thus [No. 169] **Zürich was being isolated** both in religion and politics, as Zwingli wrote to his friend, Berchtold Haller, 1492-†1536, reformer in Bern, 29 Dec. 1521 (*Opera*, vii. 187), before the crisis of reform began.

No. 165. The opposition to Zwingli in Zürich, 16 Feb. 1520.

... Praepositus item noster virus quoddam effudit, atque ut memorabile esset, literis mandavit. Literae ad me sunt scriptae, quibus ille decimas iure divino constare dixit: contra quam [*sic*] ego publice, Latine tamen, non Germanice, dixeram. Item docet me quomodo veritas non sit semper dicenda, nimirum contra sacerdotes nihil male dicendum putans. Agit inde de foro ac ne laicis arma adversus clerum ministrem. Et bellus homuncio omnia ista per modum, ut inquit, ammonitionis scribit. Ego vero hominem ipse conveni, postquam non potuit, per Utingerum¹ etiam commonitus, quiescere, rem atque stomachum omnem explicui, precatus ne eiusmodi post-hac committat, ut ea literis mandet, quae possit ore ad os loqui, quaeque adeo sint frigida (per canones enim pleraque egerat et sacras literas ita tortas, ut auctores eas non agnovissent) ut ad partem suam me trahere nequeant. . . .

¹ A canon of Zürich, humanist and friend to Zwingli.

No. 166. **Mandate of the Burgomaster and Council¹ for Scriptural preaching, Dec. 1520.**

That they all and generally preach in freedom (as is also granted by the papal laws) the holy Gospels and Epistles of the Apostles conformably with the word of God, and the true divine Scriptures of the Old and New Testament, and that they teach that which they receive and hold from the said Scriptures, and say nothing of other accidental innovations and rules.

No. 167. **Bullinger's² account of Zwingli's preaching in 1521.**

Zwingli preached at this time very earnestly against taking money, saying that it would break up and disturb the pious Confederation. He spoke also against unions with princes and lords. If they were made, each honest man should regard them. What had been promised should also be kept. Therefore, no one should enter into any unions; and if God helps a people out of unions, they should avoid entering into them again; for they cost much blood. 'And I wish,' said he, Zwingli, 'that they had made a hole in the union with the Pope, and had given his messenger something to carry home on his back.' He said also that one would be aroused about a voracious wolf, but they do not offer protection from the wolves which destroy men. They may well wear red hats and mantles; for if one should shake them, ducats and crowns would fall out; if one should wring them, there would run from them his son's, brother's, father's, and good friends' blood.

No. 168. **Zürich repudiates pensions, 16-23 May 1521.**

... The entire Commune of Horgen has, in respect of the French alliance, resolved to reply [sc. to the Council of Zürich] as follows:—Whereas you, my Lords, some years ago

¹ The government of the city was vested in two burgomasters and two councils. The Small Council consisted of 50 or, at any one time, of 25 members; the Great Council, or Council of Two Hundred (actually 212), was the real legislature of the city. Cf. S. M. Jackson, *Huldreich Zwingli*, p. 42.

² Heinrich Bullinger, 1504-†75, was Zwingli's successor as *antistes* at Zürich, 1531.

made a law and ordinance respecting foreign princes and lords and consented and swore thereto and bound yourselves by oath at Horgen to live by and observe the same, be it therefore the friendly petition and request of our whole Commune that you, my Lords, would still continue therein, so that we may be quit of the French alliance and of all princes and lords besides; and that, so far as is consistent with your clemency and indulgence, you would put the French party, foreign and German, out of your city and country, so that not a single honest man's son should be inveigled by them, but stay at home and in his own country. Then they would be neither French nor Imperial, but good Zürichers and Confederates. . . .

**No. 169. Zwingli on the Isolation of Zürich,
29 Dec. 1521.**

. . . Petivisti iam aliquoties de fide et de cultu sanctorum sermones ad te transmitti; quod ideo non praestamus, quia calamo nunquam exceperimus, quod fortasse negotiorum nostrorum rudis aliquis detestetur. Tu vero qui ea et vidisti et audisti, boni consulturus es; quamprimum igitur tantum otii nactus ero, votis tuis et si non satis, aliquid tamen facere studebo. Tu interea quod a me requiris, ipse strenue exsequere, ut ursi tui ferociusculi, audita Christi doctrina, mansuescere incipiant; quod negotium summa lenitate adgrediendum puto. Nec enim apud tuos sic agere convenit, ut apud nostros: tuorum enim aures etiamnunc teneriores cum sint, non sunt protinus tam mordaci vero radendae: quod et Christum sensisse puto, quum vetuit margaritas ante porcos dissipari, qui fortasse in te conversi magna te saevitia discernerent, ac in perpetuum evangelium Christi horrerent. Palpandae igitur sunt hae ferae lenius, et ad earum insultum paulisper cedendum, donec patientia nostra intrepidaque pectoris constantia superatae, cicures reddantur. Dedit et Petrus aliquid, cum dixit: Sed nunc scio, fratres, vos ignorantes isthoc fecisse; dedit Paulus, dum Galatas lacte non solido cibo aluit. Cesserunt omnes apostoli saevitiae, dum non pervicaciter Senatui obstrepuerunt, vibicibus etiam lividi, sed a praedicatione non cessarunt. Sic rogo fias omnia omnibus, ne tecum Christus explodatur. Serva nobis Christum apud tuos; patienter audi, ne mecum male audias. Quanquam quod illi impudentius in me iactant, impudentissime confictum est:

neque enim cum Franco, neque cum Caesare quicquam commune habemus praeter ceteros mortales, nisi unicum Christum, qui nescio quam sit illis cordi, dum coelum terrae miscent, et omnia tumultibus et caedibus implent. Salvere iube nostro nomine amicum nostrum Trempum, Sebastianum,¹ Valerium,² medicos hunc corporum illi animorum, Thomam Vittenbachium, carissimum praeceptorem nostrum, si quando ad vos concesserit, et omnia boni consule. Opto te, frater in Christo, valere.

V

THE BEGINNINGS OF THE REFORMATION IN ZÜRICH, 1522

Luther and Zwingli have much in common: but, 'while, in the one case, we see the highest and most august powers of the world in agitation, in the other it is a question of the emancipation of a city from an episcopal power' (Ranke, *Ref.* 514). This 'emancipation' was effected by a preacher, backed by a Town Council, in reliance upon a twofold principle (*a*) that they, not the Ordinary, had authority in things spiritual, and (*b*) that the Bible and the Bible only was the standard both of doctrine and of practice. A typical statement of this [No. 170] **principle of the Reformation** in Zürich occurs in Zwingli's *Subsidium de Eucharistia* of 1525 (*Opera*, iii. 339). In 1522 it served to settle three questions, fasting, the celibacy of the clergy, and the intercession of the saints. It thus acquired public recognition. The Pope made no sign but in Zwingli's favour (see No. 187 *infra*): for even with Adrian VI, 9 Jan. 1522-†14 Sept. 1523, Zwingli's heresy was of less importance than his possible influence in procuring recruits. 'We are not reproached as heretics and apostates,' wrote Zwingli, 'but lauded with high titles' (*Opera*, II. ii. 393). The breach in Zürich was with the Bishop.

I. *Fasting*. On Ash Wednesday, 5 March 1522, emboldened by Zwingli's preaching (cf. Egli, *Aktenammlung*, No. 213) of the previous year [No. 171] **certain citizens broke the fast** (*ibid.*, No. 233). They defended themselves, some by [No. 172] **street-fighting** (*ibid.*, No. 232), others, including [No. 173] **the publisher Christopher Froschauer, 1519-†64**, by pleading press of work and the authority of Zwingli (*ibid.*, No. 234). On 23 March Zwingli came to their aid with [No. 174] **a sermon**, published 16 April,

¹ Sebastian Meyer, a Franciscan, and reformer of Bern.

² Valerius Anshelm, came to Bern, 1505, was appointed City Physician, 1509, and entrusted, 1529, with the editing of the city archives. Whence his Bernese Chronicle, of special value for 1477-1536. He died c. 1540. Cf. Oechsli, i. 291.

De delectu et libero ciborum esu (*Opera*, i. 35 sq.). Thereupon the Bishop sent a Commission, consisting of his Suffragan and two others. They reached Zürich, 7 April. Next day, they first assembled the clergy; and then interviewed the Little Council. By them they were referred to the Great Council: and after [No. 175] **proceedings, 9 April**, of which Zwingli has left an account in his *De actis legationis ad Tigurinos missae* (*C. R.* lxxxviii. 137 sqq.), the [No. 176] **Great Council gave its decision** (Egli, *op. cit.*, No. 236). The Bishop replied, 2 May, by a Pastoral (*Opera*, vii. 243) against innovations; 22 May, by an admonition (see No. 181 *infra*) to the Chapter; and, 24 May, by a [No. 177] **letter to the Great Council** (Egli, *op. cit.*, No. 251) to put them down. Meanwhile, in consequence of the Swiss defeat at La Bicocca, 27 April, Zwingli had developed, 16 May, his attack on the pensionaries (*C. R.* lxxxviii. 155 sqq.) This earned for Zürich the hostility of Schwyz (*Opera*, II. ii. 286), and, 20 May, the Diet at Luzern required the local authorities to prohibit their clergy from preaching such doctrines as would unsettle 'the common man' (Stierlin and Wyss, *Die Berner-Chronik des Val. Anshelmus*, iv. 468).

II. *Celibacy of clergy.* Early in July, two [No. 178] **petitions**, both drafted by Zwingli, were forwarded, 2 July, to the Bishop (*C. R.* lxxxviii. 189 sqq.), and, 13 July, to the Diet (*ibid.* 210 sqq.), asking permission for the clergy to marry. Some of the signatories, Zwingli (cf. *Opera*, vii. 210) included, had already married. They frankly own their past to be part of their plea for liberty to marry. But no answer was given; nor, perhaps, expected. [No. 179] **Erasmus in a letter of 21 April to Christopher von Uttenheim, Bishop of Basel, 1502-†27** (*Opera*, ix, col. 1201, C-F), indicated some difficulties in the way.

III. *The intercession of the Saints* was the subject, 16 July, of a [No. 180] **debate between Zwingli and Francis Lambert, 1486-†1530**, a Franciscan of Avignon who came to Zürich with a letter of recommendation from Haller at Bern (*Opera*, vii. 206). Zwingli, in a letter of 30 July to Beatus Rhenanus (Horawitz und Hartfelder, *Briefwechsel des Beatus Rhenanus*, No. 224), claims that he reduced the Friar to silence: and after a second disputation, 21 July, with the Friars¹ of Zürich, he won a further victory over their opposition by obtaining from the Burgomaster a pronouncement in favour of preaching 'from Holy Scripture, to the exclusion of Scotus and Thomas and suchlike' (*C. R.* lxxxviii. 258; Bullinger, *Reformationsgeschichte*, § 45, edd. Höttinger and Vögeli, i. 78).

Next month the Chapter set its seal to the principle which thus lay behind the innovations by resolving, 19 August (Egli, *op. cit.*, No. 490), to ground its teaching on Scripture only: while Zwingli, 22 August, in reply to the admonition which the Bishop had addressed to the Chapter, took it up point by point in his [No.

¹ There were three orders of Friars in Zürich—Dominicans, Franciscans, and Augustinians.

181] rather truculent *Archeteles* (*C. R.* lxxxviii. 249. sqq.) as if to make 'principium et finis universae simultatis' (*ibid.* 257).

It only remained to carry the war into the Friars' reserves. Obtaining authority from the Council for secular clergy to preach in the Convents, Zwingli delivered to the Dominican nuns at Oetenbach, 6 Sept., a [No. 182] sermon *De claritate et certitudine verbi Dei* (*Opera*, i. 92). On 12 Nov. he resigned his office as people's priest, and [No. 183] the Council appointed him to preach as before (Egli, *op. cit.*, No. 290), neither party consulting the Bishop. On 15 Nov. the Council forbade pensions and pensionaries (*ibid.*, No. 293); and concluded its labours for the year by, 1 Dec., [No. 184] an order to the nuns (*ibid.*, No. 301) to await the further development of reform.

No. 170. The principles of the Reformation in Zürich.

... Dicam hic obiter de usu Senatus Diacosiorum, propter quem quidam nos calumniantur, quod ea quae totius Ecclesiae esse debeant, nos per ducentos agi patiamur, quum totius urbis et vicinorum ecclesia sit plus minus septem millium. Sic ergo habeant isti: Qui verbo praesumus Tiguri, iam olim libere monuimus Diacosios, quod ea quae iudicio Ecclesiae totius fieri debeant, ad ipsos non alia lege reiici patiamur quam si verbo duce consulant et decernant; deinde quod ipsi non sint aliter Ecclesiae vice, quam quod ipsa Ecclesia tacito consensu hactenus benigne receperit eorum Senatus vel consulta vel decreta. Vulgavimus eandem sententiam apud universam Ecclesiam; admonuimus etiam hac tempestate, qua nonnulli feruntur stupidissimis adfectibus, quos tamen spiritum interim, si Diis placet, videri volunt, haud tuto multitudini committi posse quaedam. Non quod vereamur Deum Opt. Max. defuturum, quominus dirigat ecclesiam suam; sed rebus adhuc teneris non miscendam esse contentionis occasionem. Suasimus ergo, ut plebs iudicium *externarum* rerum hac lege Diacosii permittat, ut ad verbi regulam omnia comparentur, simul pollicentes, quod sicubi coeperint verbi auctoritatem contemnere, confestim prodituros esse ac vociferaturos. Consentit ad hunc usque diem ecclesia, tametsi decretum super ea re nullum promulgaverit, sed gratitudine ac tranquillitate, quibus hactenus utitur, consensum suum sic probat, ut aegre laturam adpareat, si quis Evangelii successum arguta curiositate impedire conetur; simul non ignorans, ut rebus istis debeamus ad Christi nostrumque decorum sic uti, ut pax Christiana servetur. Quicquid ergo

de immutandis ritibus occurrit, ad senatum Diacosiorum refertur, non absque exemplo: nam et Antiochia duos modo, Pāulum et Barnabam, Hierosolymam mittit; nec ipsa decernit, quod tamen iure potuisset. Causa fuit quod immoderatam contentionem vereretur, quae quanto maior est concio, tanto magis crudescit. Quod autem Diacosii in his rebus Ecclesiae non suo nomine agant, hinc adparet quod quicquid apud nos statuitur, puta de imaginibus, de celebranda Eucharistia et similibus, id eis Ecclesiis quae in oppidis et agro sunt liberum relinquit: ubi nimirum, quod ecclesiae non sunt tantae, contentionis incendium non magnopere metuendum esse vident. Cessit consilium sic, ut ex Deo esse facile cognoscas. Sic igitur soliti sumus hactenus, ante omnia multitudinem de quaestione, quae senatus iudicio cognoscenda erat, probe docere. Sic enim factum est, ut quicquid Diacosii cum verbi ministris ordinarent, iamdudum in animis fidelium ordinatum esset. Denique senatum Diacosiorum adivimus ut ecclesiae totius nomine, quod usus postularet, fieri iuberent, quo tempestive omnia et cum decore agerentur. Factum est itaque, ut contentionis malum ab ecclesia prohiberetur, non aliam ob causam quam nimiam multitudinem adfectuumque audaciam; et in eum locum retruderetur ubi innoxie audiri ac vinci posset: occalluerunt enim tribunalium et practoriorum aures ad litigia et rixas. Sic utimur Tiguri Diacosiorum senatu, quae summa est potestas, ecclesiae vice.

No. 171. Some citizens break the fast on Ash Wednesday, 5 March 1522.

Inquiry as to who had been eating flesh and eggs in Lent.

1 (a). Elsi Flammer, maidservant of the printer in the Niederdorf, said she had by her master's orders cooked some sausages on Ash Wednesday, and that the people's priest [Leo Judā] of Einsiedeln, Bartholomew Pur, and Michael Hirt, had eaten of them. Afterwards several vinedressers of her master's had eaten of this flesh. . . .

. . . (c). Bartholomew Pur, the baker, said: On Ash Wednesday he and Master Uolrich [Zwingli], people's priest at the Great Minster, Master Leo Jud, people's priest at Einsiedeln, Master Laurence [Keller], parson of Egg, Henry Aberli, Michael Hirt the baker, Conrad Luchsinger, and Conrad Escher, were in the kitchen of the printer's [Froschauer's] house: and the printer produced two dried sausages. They

cut them up and each had a little bit. All ate of them, except Master Uolrich Zwingli, people's priest at the Great Minster. . . .

No. 172. Street-fighting.

Michael Ferrich, a journeyman shoemaker from Würzburg, came to blows with James Schmidt of Meilen about the month and eating flesh. The one said, 'People eat flesh in March.' 'No, that they don't,' replied the other. 'Well,' continued the stranger, 'it seems to me there are folks in this country who can get on better with whey and cheese than with Scripture.' And when he went on to chaff his fellow about his 'old cow-country' and so forth, they fell to settle it with their fists, till the neighbours made peace.

No. 173. Christopher Froschauer's defence, April 1522.

Christopher Froschauer, printer to the Council.—(1) In the first place, prudent, gracious, pious and dear Lords, as it has come to your knowledge that I have eaten flesh in my house, I plead guilty, and in the following wise: I have so much work on hand, and it is costing me so much in body, goods, and work, that I have to get on and work at it day and night, holy day and work-a-day, so that I may get it ready by Frankfurt Fair. The work is the epistles of St. Paul. . . . (2) Next, on further reflection, I find that the Almighty and gracious God has visited us and illuminated us with the light of the truth, i. e. with God's Word, which we must truly believe if we are to become really blessed; that God has left us nothing on earth wherein to trust save the holy Gospel, which is His godly Word; that this we must believe and hold by and keep to; and further, we must direct our lives and actions by the rule of the Gospel, else we are not Christians. (3) And I find also, on reflection, that God has, in particular, so faithfully provided the town of Zürich with such a preacher¹ that no better can be found in all Germany, and he is the praise and glory of Zürich. . . . (5) I have therefore such confidence in you, my Lords, as to say that, if the Spirituality put us under penalties, and it is neither against God nor holy Scripture, you will protect and defend us in our godly rights. But if you, my Lords, charge yourselves with the affair and put me

¹ Zwingli.

under penalties, then I have nothing against it, though I have not offended either against you or against God with my eating of flesh. . . .

No. 174. From Zwingli's sermon, *De delectu et libero ciborum esu*, 23 March 1522.

Haec sunt, fratres in Christo quae nuper, plena Scripturarum auctoritate munitus, pro publica concione docui, nunc vero repetita scriptis mandare visum est, non alia de causa quam ut hi qui scripturarum rudes et imperiti sunt, vel inviti eas scrutari iuxta Christi sententiam compellantur; et ut vobis vestrisque omnibus arma suppeditarem, quibus libertatem fidei vestrae contra illorum calumnias et convitia tueri possitis. Quantum enim de me dicere possum, invitus certe hisce de rebus scripsi, quod videam me, etsi sententiam meam veram ratamque esse multis argumentis evicero (ut me iam evicisse dubitare non possum); non tamen quicquam aliud profecisse quam quod Christiano homini quibuslibet cibis quovis die impune iuxta leges divinas vesci liceat. Interim tamen non ignoro hanc meam operam iis qui vera gratitudine praediti infirmitatem suam humiliter agnoscunt, non parvam laetitiam esse parituram. Licet enim ab omni carniū esu quovis tempore abstineant, gaudebunt tamen quoties hac libertate a Christo se donatos esse vident. Caeterum maiores nunc mihi labores exantlandi sunt ad offendiculum omne prohibendum, quam si errori suo permissem infastos homines immori, qui huiusmodi praecepta pro divinis amplexati sunt, quod tamen vocationem meam diligentius consideranti nullo modo facere licuit. Neque vos ignorare arbitror sacrosanctum Iesu Christi Evangelium a Matthaeo conscriptum, Apostolorum Acta, Pauli ad Timotheum et Galatas, item utrasque Petri epistolas, huiusmodi testimoniis abundare, quum hos Novi Testamenti libros omnes publice docens vobis interpretatus sim. Porro decet omnino et summo opere necessarium est, ut iucunda et placida Christi facies ab huiusmodi naevis et humanarum traditionum maculis ac sordibus abstersa liberetur, quo suave illud iugum salvatoris nostri et onus leve agnoscentes vero et germano amore illud amplecti denuo possimus. Deus sua virtute et Spiritu doctrinam suam in dies tueatur et provehat. Amen.

Caeterum de his, quae hactenus a nobis demonstrata sunt, mercedem cuius redditorum esse publice coram Deo polliceor testorque; simulque vos omnes appello, quotquot Scripturarum

aliqua scientia praediti estis, ut sicubi me illam violentius torsisse et a vero genuinoque illius sensu recessisse videritis, me erroris mei coram vel scriptis arguere non dedignemini, et a calumniosis illis conviciis quibus ignorantem multi proscindere solent, prorsus abstineatis; quum haec viro bono, nedum vere Christiano et fideli, indigna sint. Quaecunque enim veteris novique Testamenti auctoritate comprobari possunt, lubens volensque recipiam. Sequentes vero conclusiones non pro receptis affirmare sed aliquot Scripturarum testimoniis probatas sic proponere libuit, ut quivis fidelium libere de istis iudicare et pronuntiare possit.

[*Sequuntur propositiones xvi, quibus disputatur an quisquam hominum ciborum quorundam esum interdicere possit.*]

Diligens ergo omnium horum consideratio in eam me sententiam abduxit, ut certo crederem spirituales illos, ut vocant, ecclesiae proceres non modo omni potestate et iure, quo haec vel alia huius generis praecipiant, destitui; verum etiam gravissime peccare si quando talia praecipere in animum inducant. . . . Christus vero dominus disertis verbis ne episcopi conservos suos percutiant; prohibuit. Qua ratione autem se a crimine illo exsolvent, qui commissum sibi populum novis traditionibus, in quas catholica fidelium ecclesia nunquam consensit, deprimunt? Quapropter liberum de his quae modo proposuimus, unicuique esto iudicium. . . .

No. 175. The Commission of Hugo, Bishop of Constance.

From the *Letter of Zwingli to Erasmus Fabricius*, de actis legationis ad Tigurinos missae diebus 7, 8, 9 Aprilis 1522.

Acta Tiguri 7, 8, 9 diebus aprilis per R. D. Constantiensem, legatis Melchior¹ suffraganeo, Ioanne Vannio² (quem tamen invitum scimus negotio interfuisse) et N. Brendlin³ cum Huldericho Zuinglio Tigurinorum evangelista coram sacerdotum senatorumque ordine.

Cum septima die aprilis ad urbem nostram praedicti patres maturius venissent, nec ego ignorarem venturos, captabam quid illi consilii caperent rescire tamen nequivi usque ad in tempestam fere noctem, qua Henricus Luty⁴, diaconus noster carissimus, veniens admoneret notarium (quem vocant) in

¹ Melchior Fattlin, c. 1490-†1548, Bp. Suffragan of Constance, 1518.

² John Wanner, Preacher in the Cathedral of Constance, 1521.

³ The Chancellor of the Bishop of Constance.

⁴ Zwingli's assistant priest at the Great Minster, since 1520.

crastinum diluculum cogere universum sacerdotum ordinem ad canonicorum locum consuetum¹. Ego hoc felix auspiciū opinatus, quod res per cursorem egregie tum claudum, tum illepidum, coepta esset, cogitabam intra me quonam pacto essent orsuri telam. Sensi tandem, ut mihi videbar. Et cum iam illuxisset atque in conspectum ventum esset, orsus est suffraganeus in eum modum qui post sequitur, cum narrare coeperimus quomodo res sit apud senatum acta. Erat tota oratio vehemens et stomachi supercillique plena, tametsi strenue dissimularet omnem similitudinem erga nos; nomen etenim nostrum ita nusquam attigit, ac si sacrosanctum esset, cum tamen interim nihil non in nos diceretur.

Tragoediam cum iam exeiulasset, prodii, indecorum ac foedum ratus, orationem, quae tantum damni dare posset, inconcussam permittere, praesertim quod infirmos quosdam nuper Christo lucrifactos sacerdotes offensos ea sentirem, ex tacitis palloribus ac suspiriis.

Tumultuarie itaque ad suffraganei dicta respondi, quo spiritu aut animo iudicent boni qui audierunt. Summam tamen etiam tum audies, cum ad acta apud senatum devenerimus.

Deseruerunt hoc cornu veluti victum ac in fugam conversum oratores ad aliud propere festinantes ad senatum scilicet, ubi eadem, ut ex senatoribus ipse rescivi, habita oratio eodemque modo nomini nostro parcitum, persuasum quoque senatui ne ego vocarer: nihil enim se mecum habere negotii. Variantibus posthaec aliquamdiu sententiis huc tamen deventum est ut et plebs (ea est ducenti viri, Senatus Maior adpellati)² sequenti die frequens adesset, cautumque, ne episcopi³ urbis, qui tres sumus, adessent: nihil enim adversus istos dictum iri, orationi tam integrae neminem posse contradicere et cetera. Quod ubi rescivi, omnem operam impendi, ut nos quoque in senatum admitteremur sequenti die futurum. Frustra diu movi omnem lapidem; nam senatus principes negabant fieri posse, cum senatus diversum decrevisset. Ibi ego quiescere ac suspiriis rem agere coepi apud eum qui audit gemitum compeditorum, ne veritatem desereret ac evangelium suum, quod per nos praedicari voluisset, defenderet.

¹ The 'Chorherrenstube' or Common Room of the Canons' Residence.

² Cf. J. C. Bluntschli, *Staats- und Rechtsgeschichte der Stadt und Landschaft Zürich*, i. 357 sqq.

³ So Zwingli calls the three people's priests of Zürich: see below.

Nona tandem die, coactis civibus ac indignam rem tumultuantibus quod episcopi sui non admitterentur, restiterunt, qui erant e Senatu, quem vocat a numero Minorem, quod diversum ante decrevisset. Invitis tamen illis coëgit plebs rogationem super ea re haberi, qua sic sensum est, ut episcopi sui praesentes sint, atque omnia audiant, ac si opus habeant, respondeant. . . .

Deo gratia. Cum enim in senatum inducerentur oratores, admissi sumus et nos Tigurinorum episcopi, Henricus Engelhardus,¹ dominus ad Monasterium Monialium, Rodolphus Roscellus² apud Sanctum Petrum episcopus, et ego Huldéricus Zuinglius. Ibi cum dicendi esset illis copia facta et suffraganeus salutem eis ac benedictionem a suo illustrissimo duce ac episcopo (nam id oportet ultimo tandem loco vix admitti) nuntiasset, voce deinde suavissima illa sua, qua vix dulciorem in dicendo unquam audiui: quod si pectus et cerebrum tantum quantum illa possent, Ὁρφέα diceres superaturum et Apollinem dulcedine, persuadendi autem vi Demosthenem cum Gracchis. Iam cum orationem eius cupiam ex integro ponere, nequeo tum quod confuse, perplexe et sine ordine diceret, tum quod tam longam haud putem ab ullo Portio Latrone memoria teneri. Pugillares autem cum ipse habuerim ac summa capita adnotarim, ut commodius possem illius dictis obsistere ac respondere, volo ista ponere primum, deinde quid ad quaevis responderimus subiicere.

Τραυκωτύως dixit (1) quosdam doctrinas novas irritabiles ac seditiosas docere, Germanice widerwärtig und aufrührig lehren. Nempe nihil praeceptionum humanarum servari oportere, nihil ceremoniarum. (2) Quae doctrina si vicerit, futurum ut non modo civiles leges sed et Christiana fides aboleatur. (3) Cum tamen ceremoniae sint veluti manuductio (hoc enim verbo uti illi placuit etiam apud eos qui ignorarent Latine, quod nimirum Germanica vox, eine einleitung, ei vel parum firma videretur, vel minus elegans) ad virtutes. (4) Immo virtutum fontem esse, ein ursprung (quod verbum tamen postea fuit coram tot arbitris ausus negare) ceremonias. (5) Quadragesimam item doceri non servari oportere; in hac enim urbe ausos esse quosdam sese a reliquis Christianis separare et a Christiana ecclesia (quod etiam verbum postea

¹ H. Engelhard, 1482-†1551, became People's Priest at the Fraumünster, 1496.

² Rudolph Röschli, People's Priest at St. Peter's, 1503-22. He was succeeded by Leo Judä.

tam impudenter quam pervacaciter negavit . . .). (6) Carnes enim eos in quadragesima edisse non sine totius reipublicae Christianae scandalo. (7) Quod tametsi litterae evangelicae aperte non permittant, audere tamen eodem asserere ex evangelicis ac apostolicis scriptis, sibi licere. (8) Contra sanctorum patrum decreta et concilia, (9) contra denique vetustissimum morem eos fecisse quem nisi ex Spiritu Sancto fluxisset, tanto tempore servare nunquam potuissemus. . . . Post vero dictorum omnium pulcherrimum epilogum surrexit cum suis abiturus. . . . Coepit murmur audiri civium indignantium, ut tandem et hortatu consulis¹ et rei indignitate compulsi in pristinum locum resederint. Quod ubi factum est, coepi pro virili doctrinam Christi defendere ac ad summa capita respondere in hunc fere modum:—

(1) Proposuisse quidem D. Suffraganeum quosdam seditiosas docere doctrinas et irritabiles; at nos induci non posse, ut id velit de nobis accipi, qui tanto sudore iam annis ferme quattuor evangelium Christi et doctrinam apostolicam praedicaverimus. Tametsi nonnihil oboleat, quod apud senatum id proposuisset; quid enim nostra referret, si alibi tales doctrinae praedicarentur, modo ne Tiguri? Unde cum non sit verisimile suffraganeum de alienis locutum esse, pateat mihi fabulam narrari. . . . Quod autem ad rem evangelicam pertineat, non mirum esse, si alicubi inter eos qui *ἐντάλματα* i. e. praeceptiones humanas mordicus tenent et eos qui illas aversantur, dissentiat. Christum enim apertissime id futurum praedixisse (Mt. x. 34-6). Quanquam ne illa quidem responsione opus esse. Tigurum enim magis quam ullum Helvetiorum pagum pacatum et quietum esse, id quod omnes boni cives acceptum ferrent evangelio.

(2) Quod deinde obiectum sit nullas humanas nec praeceptiones nec caeremonias servari oportere doceri, ingenue agnoscam, caeremoniarum iustam partem ac praeceptionum cupere abolitam esse, quod praecepta sint magna parte talia, quae etiam Petrus in Actis neget ferri posse (Act. xv. 7-11). . . . Immo caeremonias haud quicquam aliud agere quam et Christo et eius fidelibus os oblinere, Spiritus doctrinam abolere, ab invisibilibus ad elementa mundi avocare, quod tamen brevibus dici nequeat et explicari.

(3) Alia deinde ratione docui simplicem plebeculam quam per caeremonias ad agnitionem veritatis manuduci posse; nempe ea qua Christus et apostoli induxissent, sine omnibus

¹ Mark Roüst, 1454-†1524, Burgomaster from 1505.

quatenus mihi per sacras literas perspectum est caeremoniis ; neque periculum esse minus illam capacem esse evangelii, quod quicumque credit intelligit. . . .

(4) Quadragesimam nusquam nunquam docuisse non observari oportere, quanquam cupiam non tam imperiose praecipi et integrum cuivis relinqui. . . .

(5) Carnes sint quidam edere ausi minime mali, qui nec inficiuntur : sed quandoquidem divina lege a carnibus non sit eis interdictum, in testimonium fidei potius edisse quam in ullius contumeliam. Quod hinc pateat : nam mox, ut docti sint a nobis rationem scandali habere debuisse, destiterint, unde nec ista legatione opus fuisse, remittente sua sponte malo ; si modo malum est. Hoc tamen vehementer nos admirari, quod, dum annum iam xvi in dioecesi Constantiensi evangelizem, hactenus tamen non resciverim, aliquo misisse Constantienses tam splendidam legationem quae scrutaretur quonam pacto evangelicum negotium incederet. Nunc cum minimam observatiunculam senserint non tam laesam quam viderentur velle etiam, querimoniis impleri omnia, quiritari unos esse Tigurinos qui secessionem a Christianorum communione meditari audeant. . . .

(6) Litteras autem evangelicas nusquam aperte permittere carnum esum, falso oppositum ostendimus, nam Marcus, c. vii. [15] dicat in hunc modum : Nihil est extra hominem, &c. . . .

(7) Addebatur contra sanctorum patrum decreta et concilia. Respondimus dominum D. Engelhardum, nostrae decus urbis, nobiscum ea in quibus ipsi maxime fiderent, diligenter librasse ; nihil autem tale asseverare posse ex his, quibus loco sacrae ancorae uterentur : non enim hoc in quaestionem venire, an quadragesimam abolitam oporteat, sed an ea tempestate per legem Christi liceat carnibus vesci. Ieiunium ut nulli interdiximus, sic integrum relinquimus.

(8) Adiunctum est : et contra vetustissimum morem. Hic ingenue cessimus, consuetudinem esse atque eam minime malam. At si consuetudo esset, cur edictum adderetur ? Datturos haud dubie operam promissimus, ut ea consuetudo temere ne intercidat.

(9) Et si consuetudo (prosequeretur) non a Spiritu divino esset inspirata, tanto tempore non duravisset, iuxta Gamalielis verbum (Act. v. 37-39). Respondi, haec et alia quae non ex mente Dei essent, solum iri suo tempore . . . (Mt. xv. 13). Delectum autem ciborum nec Christum nec apostolos praecepisse : unde nulli mirum videri debere, quandoquidem

Christus benignitate sua velut postliminio mundum nunc per evangelium clarius illustrarit, si miseri mortales ad libertatem respiciant. . . .

Haec sunt Erasme, frater carissime, quae hisce diebus accepimus vel dedimus vulnera coram sacerdotum senatorumque ordine; hae rursum medelae, quibus infirmis succurrimus. Tumultuarie omnia, ut a nobis acta, ita scripta sunt. . . . Summam tamen actionis omnino attigi, sive apud senatum sive sacerdotum ordinem, sive privatim habitam. Vespera enim illa qua mane cum sacerdotum ordine egerant, casu in eos incidi et multa cum illis contuli. Ex quibus omnibus didici, ubi loci ulcus eos urat.

**No. 176. The decision of the Great Council,
9 April 1522.**

Burgomaster Schmid and the Council.

(1) Whereas at the beginning of this Lent sundry persons ate flesh . . . and perhaps assumed that they were not thereby sinning against God's commandments, though much and divers debate and dissension arose thereon, in such sort that our gracious Lord of Constance, as our Ordinary and Bishop, sent to Zürich his worshipful Commission, to wit, the Bishop Suffragan, the preacher of the Cathedral at Constance and his Chancellor, who came first to the Provost and Chapter of SS. Felix and Regula and afterwards to the Little and to the Great Council, and with fatherly fidelity and charity admonished us. . . . And whereas such admonition, with much more fine speaking on the part of the Commission of our gracious Lord of Constance took place before the Little and the Great Councils in the presence of the three people's priests of the Great Minster, of our Lady's Minster, and of St. Peter's, and the three people's priests were heard thereon through Master Uolrich Zwingli.—Now therefore it is resolved, and requested of the Commission of our gracious Lord of Constance to express our high and diligent thanks to him for his fatherly notice and faithful admonition, and with special earnestness to desire his Grace that without delay he would do his utmost to get the matter brought before his Holiness the Pope, by the cardinals, bishops, councils, or by true Christian men of learning, so that at length an elucidation and answer might be given how and in what way men should order themselves in such case, so that nothing be done against the laws of Christ.

(2) Further, it is decreed that on Sunday next [Apr. 13] in the three parishes the people be warned and admonished that henceforward during the fast no one eat flesh without special cause, but await the elucidation according to the tenor of an agreement made with the Commission of our gracious Lord.

(3) It is also hereby required that those who have eaten flesh to the distress of their consciences shall make their confession, and that their confessors, as in a spiritual matter, shall punish them with penance imposed.

(4) No one shall charge his neighbour with worthlessness or contentiousness, or with putting away the eating of flesh, but every one shall keep the peace; and should any man behave so unruly, he will be liable to punishment therefor.

No. 177. The Bishop's Letter to the Council, 24 May 1522.

Our friendly greetings, &c. Whereas we lately sent you our Commission with instructions to advise you, concerning the innovations and abuses on the part of some who ate flesh last Lent contrary to the accepted ordinances, customs, and usage of the Christian Church, for the reasons given to put them down, and further to refrain from disparaging or abandoning other accepted ordinances, laws, and good customs of the Christian Church, as ye have understood them this long time past, and have been informed of the answer and the resolution you gave to our Commission: and whereas the aforesaid laws, ordinances, usages, traditions, and good customs of Holy Church are acknowledged to have so good a Christian intent that they have been accepted of all Christian men and for many years past have been laudably observed and unanimously holden of all Christendom, and, moreover, cannot be omitted by any one for his own purposes without scandal and offence; Now, therefore, as against all this, we, on our part, do you no otherwise to wit than that it is our fatherly faithful advice and our friendly earnest request that ye will compose the scandal and offence among you by Christian and due obedience to the ordinances and good customs of Holy Church, and, so far as in you lies, cause them to be observed and done amongst you. This we believe to be in accordance with the Gospel, with the teaching of Paul, and with the holy Christian faith. . . .

No. 178. Petition to the Bishop of Constance for marriage of clergy, 2 July 1522.

... His adeo locis¹ moti, persuasi tandem sumus longe conducibilis esse, si uxores ducamus, quominus offendantur pusilli Christi, quam perfricta fronte scortando grassemur. . . . Sed huc spectavimus omnes, cum plerique fungamur episcoporum officio, ubi ante omnia temperandum est a scandalo (inculpatum enim, ut supra patuit, oportet episcopum esse) ut etiam ab offendendo desistamus, dum alias (ut citra iactantiam libere loquamur) non usque adeo incivilibus morigemus, ut ullum ob flagitium male audiamus apud gregem nobis creditum, hoc uno accepto. Per igitur communem Christum, per libertatem eius sanguine partam, per paternum affectum quem nobis debes, per miseriam animularum nostrarum, per vulnera conscientiarum, per quicquid est divinum, quicquid est humanum, te oramus ut supplices clementer respicias, ac quod temere aedificatum est cum consilio demoliri sinas, ne quando moles ista non ex patris caelestis sententia constructa cum fragore longe perniciosiore corruat. Vides quid mundus minetur; quamobrem Paternitati tuae prospectum oportet, nec importunum videri, quod eam oratum adivimus: nisi enim consilio rebus multis subveniatur, actum erit aliquando de universo sacerdotum ordine. Nec amabo ad maiorum Paternitatis tuae senatusconsulta releges; vides enim quantum in hac re oscitent, aut ad hoc cunctentur, ut sperent futurum, ut etsi prius virgis caesi, simus tamen paulo post scorpiones laturi; indulgendum est imbecillitati, imo hac in re audendum est nonnihil. Nam, O beatam Landenbergiorum invictam gentem, si tu primus episcoporum omnium in Germania salubriter mederi vulneratis aggressus fueris. . . . Hoc unum caveris, ne oblatam occasionem e manibus male consertis elabi sinas; auguramur enim res novam faciem induituras nobis etiam ingratas; quod ubi factum erit, nequaquam indipiscendae gloriae occasionem neglexisse quere-mur. . . .

Reverendissimae Paternitatis tuae deditissimi. Balthasar Trachselus [Trachsel, of Arth], Georgius Calybeus [Stähelin, of Freienbach], Vernherus Steiner [of Zug], Leo Iud [Pastor of St. Peter's, Zürich], Erasmus Fabricius [Schmidt, of Stein am Rhein], Simon Stumpfus [Stumpf, of Hönegg], Iodocus

¹ e. g. Matt. xix. 10-12; 1 Cor. vii. 1 sqq.; 1 Cor. vii. 9; 1 Cor. vii. 25; 1 Tim. iii. 1 sqq.; Tit. i. 5 sqq.; 1 Tim. iv. 1-3; Heb. xiii. 4.

Kilchmeyer [Canon of Luzern], Huldrychus Pistoris [Pfister, of Uster], Caspar Megander [Grossmann, Chaplain of the Great Minster, at Zürich], Iohannes Faber [Schmidt, Canon of the Great Minster, at Zürich], Huldrychus Zuinglius.

**No. 179. Erasmus to Christopher, Bishop of
Basel, 21 April 1522.**

Cur hîc humanam constitutionem urgemus tam obstinate, praesertim cum tot causae suadeant mutationem? Primum enim magna sacerdotum pars vivit cum mala fama, parumque requieta conscientia tractat illa sacrosancta mysteria. Deinde perit magna ex parte fructus illorum, propterea quod ob vitam dedecorosam a populo contemnuntur illorum doctrina. Quod si his, qui se non continent, concederetur matrimonium, et ipsi viverent quietius, et populo cum auctoritate praedicarent verbum Dei, et liberos suos liberaliter educandos curarent, nec alteri alteris vicissim essent probro. Haec non eo spectant, ut sacerdotibus auctor aut patronus esse studeam, qui nuper citra pontificum auctoritatem coeperunt esse mariti: sed ut ecclesiae proceres admoneam, dispiciant an expediat veterem constitutionem ad praesentem utilitatem accommodari. Interim et episcopos admonitos velim ne tam temere quoslibet et inexploratos recipiant in sacerdotalem ordinem. Caeteros item admonendos censeo, etiam atque etiam excutiant seipsos, num idonei sint muneri gerendo quod suscipiunt, ne lucri causa, ne otii gratia tantae professionis onus suscipiant, et sibi damnationem et ecclesiae probrum accersentes. Porro, qui iam initiati sunt, etiamsi pontifices aperiant fenestram ad coniugium, tamen illud consuluerim ut ne leviter aut temere semet involvant matrimonio, fiatque ut iam duplici paenitentia discrucientur et sacerdotii et coniugii. Bona pars continentiae est ex animo velle continere. Nihil magis optandum quam ut sacerdos immunis a coniugio liber ac totus serviat Domino suo. Sed si frustra tentatis remediis omnibus vinci non potest carnis rebellio, superest ut cum una caste vivat, ad remedium habens uxorem, non ad voluptatem: illud interim conans pro viribus ut imbecillitatem carnis, cui concessa est uxor, reliqua vitae integritate piisque studiis compenset. Sic enim omnes intelligent uxorem necessitati quaesitam, non voluptati. Neque dubito quin plerique sint episcopi qui perspiciant haec ita habere quemadmodum dicimus: sed vereor ne hîc quoque quaestus obstat, quominus id sequamur quod videmus opti-

munum esse. Si episcopi tentent mutare, fortasse reclament officiales, qui plus sentiunt redituum ex concubinis sacerdotum quam sensuri sint ex uxoribus. At non aequum est ut quaestus apud nos tantum valeat, ut ob eum in re tanti momenti minus sincere consulatur. . . .

**No. 180. Zwingli's debate with Francis Lambert,
16 July 1522.**

Primum itaque omnium scias Franciscanum quendam e Gallia, Franciscum nomine, retroactis non adeo multis diebus, apud nos Tiguri fuisse ac de adoratione divorum eorundemque pro nobis intercessione in Scripturis mecum multa contulisse, nusquam tamen opitulante Scriptura evincere potuisse, ut divi pro nobis orent, id quod multo fastu facturum iactaverat. Tandem Basileam concessit, ubi longe aliter totam rem narrat, immo mentitur, atque acta est. Quam ob rem tibi ista placuit significare, ne Cumanum leonem¹ ignorares, si forte fortuna aliquando ad te diverterit. Subsecutum est intra sex dies aliud cum nostris fratribus certamen, hi sunt praedicatores Augustini minores; postremo indixit illis consul et senatores tres, quibus id muneris mandatum erat, ut relictis Thomasibus, Scotis reliquisque id farinae doctoribus, unis sacris litteris nitantur, quae scilicet intra biblia contineantur. Hoc beluas istas tam male habet ut unus frater, pater lector Ordinis Praedicatorum a nobis solverit, nobis non secus flentibus ac si morosa et dives noverca excesserit. Non desunt interea tamen, qui nihil non minentur, sed advertet Dominus mala inimicis suis. Putamus te supplicationem vidisse, quam aliquot nostrum ad episcopum Constantiensem dedimus.

No. 181. Zwingli's Archeteles, 22 August 1522.

*A. Paraenesis a R. D. Constantiensi episcopo ad senatum
praepositurae missa.*

Hugo, Dei et Apostolicae Sedis gratia, episcopus Constantiensis . . . Praeposito et Capitulo ecclesiae . . . SS. Felicis et Regulae Turicensis. . . .

I. Accepimus iamdudum, carissimi, per universam fere Germaniam quosdam esse qui die noctuque clamant populum Christianum plus aequo hactenus gravibus et onerosis constitutionibus, observantiis et caeremoniis ab ecclesiae praesidibus

¹ Lambert.—Clearly Zwingli had not won him over: though he may have silenced him in the debate.

oppressum, unde tales totis viribus conantur reiectis et abolitis caeremoniis

2. hoc aureo saeculo (ita enim aiunt), quo evangelium demum illucescere mortalibus incipiat, communem populum ad

3. evangelicam libertatem reducere.

57. Esto etiam, quod erraverit universitas aut instituendo aut acceptando ritum hucusque servatum, et, ut est humana ignorantia et infirmitas, aliqua se religioni Christianae immiscuerint evangelio et sacrae Scripturae non admodum conformia:

59. Communis error facit ius. Quemadmodum ergo beatissimus Papa¹ noster felicitis memoriae Leo X et serenissimus Romanorum Imperator² Carolus V nuper

60. huiusmodi nova dogmata damnaverunt, et damnata publicis mandatis declaraverunt, tanquam illa quae sint contra ecclesiasticam dispositionem, contra evangelicam legem, institutionis evangelicae unitatem: ita vos, quos nobiscum Spiritus sanctus posuit

61. regere ecclesiam Christi, quam acquisivit

62. sanguine suo, cohortamur per eam quam quilibet Christianus de immaculatae sponsae suae ecclesiae foeda scissione compassionem gerit, ut haec dogmata postponantur, abiciantur interim, non praedicentur, disputentur aut doceantur vel publice vel occulte, nihil etiam

63. alteretur, immutetur aut innovetur circa ecclesiae ritum;

64. donec illi, quorum interest, de ecclesiae negotio conveniant et collatis consiliis cum disciplina pariter et misericordia temperatam figant sententiam. . . .

67. Haec . . . ad vos paterno affectu moti perscribere decrevimus, vos per viscera misericordiae D. N. I. C. rogantes ut in unitate sanctae

68. matris ecclesiae et superiorum obedientia maneatis, neque ritus ecclesiasticos a maioribus nostris introductos tam cito abiciatis. . . .

Datum Constantiae xxiv Mensis Maii MDXXII.

B. *Huldrychi Zuinglii responsio.*

1. Principio igitur, quid opus erat me Helvetium et apud Helvetios Christum profitentem huius tumultus insimulare? Cum id solum in Germania fieri dicatis, et Helvetii inter Germanos non censeantur: nec tamen interea totum fere menssem captans rescire potui, quod similem paraenesim ad ullos uspiam in Germania miseritis. . . .

¹ By the Bull *Exsurge Domine* (*supra*, No. 38).

² By the Edict of Worms (*supra*, No. 45).

2. Quid iam mali nobis eveniet, si caeremoniarum scobs in universum etiam abiciatur, cum frustra se Deus hisce coli adserat? . . . His itaque aureum . . . non est saeculum . . . sed his quorum conscientiae, ab his animarum parricidis hactenus misere laniatae, in tranquillum verae pietatis portum inductae sunt. . . .

3. Ad evangelicam libertatem recte faciunt qui vocant: nam hoc uno salvi reddimur. Audite Christum [Mk. xvi. 15 sqq.; Io. viii. 32]. . . .

58. Pie errantibus donandum nonnihil putatis, id quod ipse sentio, modo error sit pius. Piissimus error est putare non licere carnes diebus quadragesimalibus edere; impiissimus error est populo Christiano non indicare quae a Deo sibi donata sint. . . . Nunc cum ita mordicus caeremonias tenetis ac defenditis, quid aliud quam veritatem moramini? Verbo absit invidia. Ipsi enim caeremoniarum vim vestris verbis extenuatis et tamen defenditis usque ad nescio quod tempus, quae sine omni discrimine possent sana solum doctrina antiquari: id quod nihilo secius fiet vobis etiam contranitentibus. Quamobrem suadeo, ut quemadmodum aiunt Iulium Caesarem, cum se iam videret mortem effugere non posse, dedisse operam, ut collectis vestium laciniis honeste caderet: ita cum videtis caeremonias labi, propediemque totas esse casuras, laboretis ut quam commodissime cadant. . . .

59. 'Communem errorem ius facere,' nescio an ullis permittam incredulis, nedum Christianis. Christus enim errantes homines ferre non potuit [Matt. ix. 36]. . . . Et vos audetis errori iterum patrocinari? . . . Videte quo vos caeca ducat malignitas, huc nempe ut . . . amplectamini frivola quaedam nulli cordato ferenda. . . .

60. Quae vero sunt ista 'nova dogmata'? Num evangelium? At hoc natum est annos iam 1522. Num doctrina apostolica? At illa paulo minor natu est evangelio. Num patriarcharum et prophetarum? At illa Sibillis etiam maior est. Quapropter obsecro ut suo quaeque nomine adpelletis, quo ea cavere possimus quae tam sunt perniciose; id autem hoc pacto facturi sumus: Explorabimus omnia ad lapidem evangelicum et ad ignem Pauli. . . .

61. Ut placet id verbi: 'Regere ecclesiam Dei,' quod Actorum xx, unde huc translatus est, pro 'pascere' interpretes posuit non sine sententiae iniuria. Sic enim loquitur Ephesiorum episcopis Paulus [Acts xx. 28]. . . . Quid tam arrogans verbum usurpastis? Pastores pascunt, non regunt.

62. Quandoquidem autem 'sanguine Christi' parta est ecclesia Deo . . . quid est quod quidam nos contemnunt qui de grege Christi sumus? ac non modo non Christianorum sed ne hominum quidem loco habent, non contenti si benignitate nostra liceat sibi otiosis curare cuticulam, ni prorsus ad servitutem adigant. . . . Quid inquam in causa est, ut hae indulgentiae nunquam promulgentur, nempe quod pretioso Christi sanguine simus empti, sed fictis pollicitationibus omnia impleantur ad emungendam pecuniam? . . . Iactamus quidem Christi sanguinem . . . sed si quis eo fretus firmiter crediderit sibi perpetuo eius gratia Deum ignotum, hunc mox hæreticum pronunciamus. Constanter, O viri, perseverate in isto verbo, quod vobis sive de industria sive casu excidit: est enim salutis verbum, Christum scilicet ecclesiam sanguine suo parasse. Quicumque igitur id firmiter crediderit, ex ecclesia Christi est ea quam suo sanguine paravit; nam fides sola salutis causa est. . . . Studete intra eam ecclesiam numerari quae Christi sanguine respersa est, ut odio habeatis ecclesiam malignantium. Quid vobis cum ea ecclesia quae carni innotitur et sanguini?

63. Si nihil immutandum, 'nihil novandum,' cur synaxis, olim sub utraque specie fieri consueta secundum Christi institutionem ac usum apostolorum, mutata est? vel potius mutilata? Cur episcopi munus in principis commutatum est? Cur matrimonium vetitum? Aliaeque sexcenta novata sunt? reclamantibus Christo, apostolis communique iudicio? An potentiores estis Deo ut id vetare ausi sitis, quod integrum Christus reliquit. . . . aut tam stupidi ut persuasuros vos autumetis liberis in Christo conscientis, ut quod per legem divinam licere sciunt, licere non putent? etiamsi ad ravim usque clametis.

64. Quamvis verba vestra paulo post temperetis in hunc modum: 'Donec illi quorum interest de ecclesiae negotio conveniant,' &c. Quod tum eventurum puto, cum 'aut Ararim Parthus bibit aut Germania Tigrim.'¹ Persuasum enim vobis esse cupio, quod hac nostra tempestate nihil minus saevituri sint contra mundioris Christianismi adsertores, quam olim Iudaei in Christum ipsum saevierint. Qui enim fieri posse putatis, ut hi quorum laquearia nitent auro, mulae gemmis, satellites serico, ipsi his omnibus modum ullum aut correctionem recipiant? Convenirent quidem illi facile, si liceret eis omnia ex sententia statuere sua, non Scripturae: id quod mundus

¹ Virgil, *Eclogae* i. 62.

minime recepturus esset, qui iam ubique evangelium adprobe doctus est (dicerem ferme magis doctum esse quam summos istos sacerdotes) neque ulla ratione ab ipso avelli potest. . . . Haec, inquam, causa est, cur non sperem unquam futurum ut concilia cogantur Scripturae paritura, ni principum unanimis consensus id efficiat; quem tamen impedire quidam catuli ex nostris mirum quam belle norunt, dum praestigiis munerum, honorum, sacerdotiorum oculos eorum fascinant et spebus ludunt inanibus. Frustra igitur ab illis temperatam sperabimus sententiam.

68. 'Ut in unitate sanctae matris ecclesiae maneamus,' Te rogamus: audi nos. Ut in superiorum, hoc est, magistratuum piorum obedientia maneamus, Te rogamus: audi nos. Ut pseudepiscopos tantam humilitatem doceas, qua se nec praesides nec superiores sed iuxta Petri verbum 1 Pet. v [1] συμπρεσβυτέρους reputent, Te rogamus. . . .

**No. 182. Zwingli's sermon De claritate verbi Dei,
6 Sept. 1522.**

Qui enim humanae doctrinae assertores sunt et vindices, ad hunc modum loqui consueverunt: Damus et nos idem hoc ut Evangelica doctrina, quae divinitus inspirata est, omnibus aliorum doctrinis praeferatur (hucusque enim nunc divina gratia vel virtute impulsu profecerunt) sed variae multumque sibi pugnantes Evangelii expositiones a nobis proferri solent. In tanta ergo sententiarum diversitate iudex aliquis sit oportet, qui utra verior sit pronuntiet et adversae errantique parti silentium imponat. Sic illi. Ceterum omnes horum sermones in hoc unum intenti sunt, ut verbi Dei sententiam et interpretationem hominum iudiciis subiiciant, ut eo facilius a Caiaphis et Annis verbi ministros affligere et ad variorum iudicum tribunalia hinc inde circumdicens sistere liceat. Et quum Paulus diserte omnem intellectum vindicare iubeat voluntati Dei in obsequium fidei, non verentur tamen huc incumbere ut verbum Dei hominum iudicio subiectum capiatur. Sed audi, quaeso, quid nos hoc loco responsuri simus. Evangelium scriptores sacri vocant non id solum quod a Matthaeo, Marco, Luca et Ioanne conscriptum est, sed quicquid usquam in V. et N. T. hominibus a Deo proditum est, quo de gratia et voluntate Dei certiores fieri potuerunt. Quum vero una Dei voluntas sit, et unus eiusdem Spiritus, qui concordiae non dissensionis Spiritus est: necessarium quoque fuerit unum tantummodo verum et simplicissimum verbi divini sensum esse, utcunque a nobis variis

sententiis et expositionibus discerpatur. . . . Sic si Dei verbum in sua natura permanere sinas . . . unum eundemque sensum in me et te proferet. . . .

No. 183. Zwingli's resignation and re-appointment, 12 Nov. 1522.

Burgomaster Röist and Councillors.—Whereas the Provost and Chapter of the Great Minster on Wednesday after St. Martin's Day appeared before the Council to say that Huldreich Zwingli had resigned his office of people's priest, for which it lay with them again to provide; and that, with a view to the office being honestly filled by a learned man, they were desirous of taking counsel with my Lords: and whereas my Lords have understood from Master Huldreich, both on St. Martin's Day in the church and otherwise, the reasons for which he proffered such resignation; it is left to the ordering of the Provost and Chapter, for the sake of peace and quiet, to fill the office of people's priest with another honest man. Nevertheless, Master Huldreich Zwingli shall furnish the pulpit with sermons after his offer of resignation as before.

No. 184. The Council's order to the nuns at Oetenbach, 1 Dec. 1522.

Burgomaster Röist and the Council.—1. With regard to the dispute between certain ladies at Oetenbach, as about other matters so, in particular, concerning their soul's health, whether to pursue the same better outside the nunnery than within; since the more part are minded to remain in the nunnery as heretofore, and desire not to suffer the others to leave but all to abide together as hitherto.—It is, in this behalf, decreed and resolved that until next Whitsuntide the said ladies of either part shall in God's name friendly and lovingly live and remain together in Christian charity, pending some steps to be taken in the meanwhile, whether by spiritual or by temporal authority, whereby it may be arranged how and what to do or not to do.

2. It is further decreed that each lady may at her pleasure choose and have a confessor, of the secular or of the regular clergy, to hear her confession at the grill as the custom is. Moreover both secular and regular clergy shall and may say Mass and preach in the church; and it is expressly required that neither secular priest nor friar shall preach anything but what

they may support from the holy lips of*God and the Gospel, and so an end be put to all other nonsense, as agreed: all, however, on condition that so soon as Confessions, Masses, and Sermons are over, then no priest, regular or secular, shall after that go to the nunnery, unless it be to provide any sick ladies therein with Confession or the Sacraments. . . .

VI

THE DISPUTATIONS AT ZÜRICH, 1523

In 1523 two Disputations carried reform further under the authority of the Town Council.

The first (Bullinger, *Reformationsgeschichte*, §§ 54-9: and for the *Acta*, in German, *C. R.* lxxxviii. 442 sqq., or in Gualther's [1519-†86] Latin translation, *Zwinglii Opera*, i. 137 sqq.) was fixed for 29 January in a [No. 185] Proclamation (*ibid.* i. 140), of 3 January, giving the terms of reference, to Scripture only; and Zwingli prepared for it by the publication, 19 Jan., of [No. 186] **Sixty-seven Articles** (*ibid.* i. 176; Niemeyer, *Collectio confessionum Ref. eccl.*, 3 sqq.: and, in the original German, *C. R.* lxxxviii. 458 sqq.) in which he deduced from this standard (*Arts.* 1-16), a criticism of existing doctrine and practice (*Arts.* 17-33), at a moment when there was on its way to him, 23 Jan., a flattering [No. 187] **Letter from Adrian VI** (*Opera*, vii. 266). On the 29th the discussion was opened by an [No. 188] **Address from the Burgomaster** (*Opera*, i. 141; *C. R.* lxxxviii. 483): and the [No. 189] **First Disputation** (*Opera*, i. 141-8; *C. R.* lxxxviii. 485 sqq.) mainly between Zwingli and Dr. Johannes Faber [Heigerlin, *alias* Schmid, 1478-†1541], since 1518 the Vicar of the Bishop of Constance, then proceeded till, after dinner, the Council covered its preacher and his Articles by a [No. 190] **Decree** (Bullinger, *op. cit.* i, § 60; *Zwinglii Opera*, i. 167; *C. R.* lxxxviii. 469), requiring all preachers in its territories to conform to the above standard.

Changes thereupon set in apace. Clergy married, 28 April (Bullinger, *op. cit.* i, § 63). Nuns were allowed to leave the cloister, 17 June (Egli, *Aktenammlung*, No. 366), and were married, one to a chaplain of the Minster, 24 June (Bullinger, *op. cit.* i, § 63). The Bishop was powerless: he could only make his protest in a [No. 191] **Pastoral** (Strickler, *Aktenammlung*, i. No. 628) of 10 July. Zwingli, on the contrary, now had a position publicly authorized. He re-inforced his Articles, 14 July, by an *Explanation* (*Opera*, i. 190 sqq.; *C. R.* lxxxviii. 1 sqq.), but it had to be accompanied, 30 July, by a tractate (*Opera*, i. 437 sqq.; *C. R.* lxxxix. 459 sqq.), intended to head off a revolutionary party. On

10 August baptism was administered in the vernacular, according to a conservative form (*Opera*, II. ii. 224; cf. Bullinger, *op. cit.* i, § 67) by Leo Jud, afterwards dropped in favour of Zwingli's own [No. 192] **Form of Baptism** . . . with the omission of all additions which have no ground in the Word of God, 1525 (*Opera*, II. ii. 230). On the 29th Zwingli put out a criticism of the Mass in his [No. 193] **De canone Missae Epichiresis** (*Opera*, iii. 83 sqq.; *C. R.* lxxxix. 552 sqq.). At Michaelmas the Council issued regulations for the [No. 194] **Reform of the Great Minster** (Bullinger, *op. cit.* i, § 71; and Egli, *Aktensammlung*, No. 426).

Zwingli had taught that images were but idols: and image-breakers (*ibid.* No. 421; cf. Bullinger, *op. cit.* i, § 76) in September began to translate his teaching into practice. The Council imprisoned the offenders (*Opera*, vii. 311 sq.) but arranged a second Disputation. On 12 Oct. they issued their [No. 195] **Summons** (Bullinger, *op. cit.* i, § 77; *Zwinglii Opera*, i. 487 sq.). In reply, the Bishop bade them, 21 Oct., defer to the coming Diet (Strickler, *Aktensammlung*; i, No. 689): Schaffhausen and St. Gall alone of the Cantons sent representatives: other districts, as [No. 196] Obwalden (Oechsl, *op. cit.* i, No. 123) were scarcely polite, 25 Oct. But the [No. 197] **Second Disputation**, 26-8 Oct., was held (*Opera*, i. 481 sqq.; *C. R.* lxxxix. 664 sqq.; Bullinger, i, § 78), Leo Jud leading the attack on Images (Bullinger, i, § 79) and Zwingli challenging the Mass (*ibid.* § 80). On the 28th Zwingli preached, and foreshadowed the breach with the Bishop by contrasting true pastors with the false (*Opera*, i. 656 sqq.). The Council then placed Zürich beyond his jurisdiction: for, ignoring their bishop, they issued 27 Oct. their [No. 198] **Mandate for the abolition of Images and of the Mass** (Egli, *Aktensammlung*, No. 436; Bullinger, *op. cit.* i, § 82); and in it announced their intention of sending [No. 199] **Preachers** of their own appointment to convert the country districts (*Opera*, vii. 313 sq., and, with them, 9 Nov., Zwingli's [No. 200] **Short Christian Introduction** (*Opera*, i. 549 sqq., and *C. R.* lxxxix. 626 sqq.)), to be circulated in justification of their proceedings. Some of the Chapter demurred. They were referred by the Council to an opinion of the three people's-priests (Egli, *Aktensammlung*, No. 460, p. 183), in which it was announced that on Christmas Day Communion would be given in both kinds and that thenceforward expositions of Scripture would take the place of the daily Mass. But by a decree of 19 Dec. (*ibid.* No. 460, p. 187), the Council conceded further discussion. This took place (cf. Bullinger, *op. cit.* i, § 84) in disputations of 28 Dec. 1523 (Egli, *op. cit.*, No. 460, p. 188, and No. 465), and 19-20 Jan. 1524 (*ibid.* Nos. 483-6, 489, and *Opera*, i. 584 sqq.). The Council then deferred the matter till after Whitsuntide, by which date they hoped to have consulted the Bishops of Constance, Chur, and Basel, the University of Basel, and the Confederates, upon Zwingli's *Introduction*.

No. 185. The proclamation of the First Disputation, 3 Jan. 1523.

Tigurinae reipublicae Consul totusque Diacosiorum senatus omnibus et singulis ecclesiarum praesidibus, plebanis, parochis et verbi ministris in urbibus comitatibus dominiis et aliis ditioni nostrae subiectis locis agentibus, salutem cum debita benevolentia optamus.

Nemini quidem ignotum esse putamus quae et quanta inter publicos ecclesiarum ministros et verbi praecones dissidia nuper exorta sint. Quidam enim se Evangelii doctrinam antehac quoque bona fide praedicavisse arbitrantur. Alii vero illos reprehendentes, eos nec commode nec digne vocationi suae satisfacisse dicunt. Unde et priores illi hos suae doctrinae reprehensores, errorum auctores, seductores et haereticos nonnunquam nominant, eos nimirum qui fidei et doctrinae suae rationem unicuique petenti se reddituros esse nunquam non prompto animo pollicentur. Quapropter ut Dei honor asseri, publica pax conservari et Christiana concordia retineri possit, volumus, praecipimus et mandamus ut omnes vos, qui ecclesiarum ministerio et in urbe nostra et in agro praefecti estis (vel si qui alii quoque concertationi isti sese adiungere velint) et alterutros errare meliusque institui posse arbitramini, ad xxix Ianuarii diem matutina hora in urbis nostrae curia citra omnem tergiversationem congregati, divinae Scripturae testimoniis et rationibus ea impugnetis, quae vobis falso doceri aut errores esse videntur. Curabimus enim ut et nos diligenti studio una cum doctis quibusdam et eruditis viris (siquidem ita nobis commodum esse visum fuit) singula audiamus, et quid porro unicuique faciendum sit finito colloquio decernamus, prout causam hanc ex Scripturarum et divini verbi auctoritate tractatam viderimus. Nolumus enim ut unicuique citra divinae Scripturae testimonia quidvis pro publica concione asserere aut docere posthac permissum sit. Praeterea R. D. Constantiensem Episcopum huius instituti nostri certiore faciemus, ut et ipse, si volet, vel legati ipsius disputationi huic interesse possint. Quod si vero quis post haec quoque contumacius sese sanae doctrinae opponere coeperit, nec dignis sacrae Scripturae argumentis sua probavit, in eum pro rei indignitate graviore iudicio animadvertemus; quamvis ea molestia tam nos ipsos quam vos liberatos malimus. Speramus autem Dominum Deum eos, qui veritatis lucem tanto studio inquirunt, sic illustraturum esse ut ceu filii lucis in luce posthac ambulare possimus.

Actum et urbis nostrae sigillo obsignatum Sabbato post Circumcisionem D. Salvatoris N. I. C., anno MDXXIII.

No. 186. Zwingli's sixty-seven Articles,
19 Jan. 1523.

1. Quicumque Evangelion nihil esse dicunt, nisi ecclesiae calculus et adprobatio accedat¹, errant et Deum blasphemant.

2. Summa Evangelii est quod Christus Filius Dei vivi innotuerit nobis voluntatem Patris caelestis et quod innocentia sua nos de morte aeterna redemerit, et Deo reconciliaverit.

3. Hinc sequitur Christum esse unicam viam ad salutem omnium qui fuerunt, sunt et erunt.

4. Quicumque aliud ostium vel quaerit vel ostendit, errat; quin animarum latro est et fur.

5. Quicumque ergo alias doctrinas Evangelio vel aequant vel praeferunt, errant, nec intelligunt quid sit Evangelium.

6. Nam Christus Iesus dux est et imperator, a Deo toti generi humano et promissus et praestitus.

7. Ut sit ipse salus et caput omnium credentium qui corpus eius sunt, quod quidem absque ipso mortuum est, et nihil potest.

8. Ex his sequitur quod omnes qui in isto capite vivunt, sunt membra et filii Dei. Et haec est ecclesia seu communio sanctorum, sponsa Christi, ecclesia catholica.

9. Quemadmodum membra corporis sine administratione capitis nihil possunt, sic in corpore Christi nemo quidquam potest sine capite eius, Christo.

10. Quum membra absque capite aliquid operantur, ut, dum sese lacerant aut perdunt, demens est homo: sic, dum membra Christi sine capite Christo aliquid tentant, insana sunt, sese gravant et perdunt imprudentibus legibus.

11. Colligimus hinc ecclesiasticorum (quos vocant) traditiones et leges, quibus fastum, divitias, honores, titulos, legesque suas fulciunt et defendunt, causam esse omnis insaniae; nam capiti Christo non consonant.

12. Adhuc ergo insaniunt non pro capite, quod per gratiam Dei pii omnes summo studio conantur erigere, sed quod non permittuntur insanire et furere. Volunt enim pii soli capiti Christo auscultare.

¹ Contrast 'Ego evangelio non crederem, nisi me catholicae ecclesiae commoveret auctoritas', S. Aug. *Contra Epist. Manichaei*, § 6; and Hooker, *E. P.* III. viii. 14.

13. Verbo Dei quum auscultant homines, pure et sinceriter voluntatem Dei discunt. Deinde per Spiritum Dei in Deum trahuntur et veluti transformantur.

14. Summo igitur studio hoc unum in primis curent omnes Christiani, ut evangelium Christi unice et sinceriter ubique praedicetur.

15. Qui credit evangelio, salvus erit; qui non credit, condemnabitur. Nam in evangelio omnis veritas clarescit.

16. In evangelio discimus hominum doctrinas et traditiones ad salutem nihil esse utiles.

17.¹ Christus unicus aeternus et summus est sacerdos. Qui ergo se pro summis sacerdotibus venditant, gloriae et potentiae Christi adversantur, et Christum reiiciunt.

18.² Christus qui sese semel in cruce obtulit hostia est et victima satisfaciens in aeternum pro peccatis omnium fidelium. Ex quo colligitur missam non esse sacrificium, sed sacrificii in cruce semel oblatis commemorationem et quasi sigillum redemptionis per Christum exhibitae.

19.³ Christus unicus est mediator inter Deum et nos.

20. Omnia nobis per Christum et in nomine Christi praestat Deus: hinc sequitur, nobis extra hanc vitam intercessore praefer Christum nullo opus esse.

21. Quum mutuo pro nobis hic in terris oramus, in hoc facere debemus, quod per solum Christum omnia nobis dari confidamus.

22.⁴ Christus est nostra iustitia. Hinc consequitur opera nostra eatenus esse bona, quatenus sunt Christi: quatenus vero nostra, non esse vere bona.

23.⁵ Quod Christus substantiam huius mundi et fastum contemnit, docet quod hi qui sub Christi titulo divitias ad se rapiunt, ipsum magna infamia afficere, quum cupiditatis suae et luxus eum patronum faciunt.

24.⁶ Christianorum nullus ad ea opera quae Christus non praecepit, adstringitur; quolibet tempore, quolibet cibo vesci potest. Consequitur ergo literas quas pro caseo et butyro dant pontificii, Romanas esse imposturas.

25.⁷ Tempus et locus in potestate sunt hominis, non homo in illorum potestate. Qui ergo tempus et locum alligant, Christiana libertate pios fraudant et spoliunt.

¹ Of the Pope.

² Of the Mass.

³ Intercession of Saints

⁴ Good Works.

⁵ The goods of the Spirituality.

⁶ Forbidden food.

⁷ Holy days and pilgrimages.

26.¹ Nihil magis displicet Deo quam hypocrisis : hinc discimus hypocrisim esse gravem et impudentem audaciam quicquid sanctum se simulat coram hominibus. Hinc cadunt cuculli, signa, rasmus, vertex, &c.

27.² Omnes Christiani fratres sunt Christi, et fratres inter sese, patrem ergo super terram vocare non debent. Hinc cadunt factiones et sectae.

28.³ Quicquid Deus non vetat et permittit, iuste fit. Ex quo discimus matrimonium omnibus ex aequo convenire.

29. Qui ecclesiastici vulgo seu spirituales vocantur, peccant, dum, posteaquam senserint castitatem sibi a Deo negatam, non uxores ducunt aut nubunt.

30.⁴ Qui vovent castitatem, stulta praesumptione et puerili arrogantia tenentur. Qui ergo ab eis vota huiusmodi vel exquirunt vel oblata recipiunt, iniuriam eis faciunt et tyrannidem in simplices exercent.

31.⁵ Excommunicationem nemo privatus ferre potest, sed ecclesia in qua excommunicandus habitat una cum episcopo.

32. Nemo potest nec debet excommunicari, quam is qui sceleribus suis publice offendit.

33. Ablata⁶ iniuste non templis, monasteriis, non monachis aut sacerdotibus, sed pauperibus danda sunt, si iis quibus ablata sunt restitui commode non possunt.

34.⁷ Potestas quam sibi Papa et Episcopi caeterique quos spirituales vocant, arrogant, et fastus quo turgent, ex sacris litteris et doctrina Christi firmamentum non habet.

35. Magistratus publicus firmatur verbo et facto Christi.

36. Iurisdictio aut iuris administratio, quam sibi dicti spirituales arrogant, tota magistratus saecularis est, si modo velit esse Christianus.

37. Magistratibus publicis omnes Christiani obedire debent, nemine excepto.

38. Modo contra Deum nil praecipiant.

39. Leges magistratuum ad regulam divinae voluntatis sunt conformandae, ut oppressos et vim passos defendant et ab iniuria asserant, etiam si nemo queratur.

40. Magistratus iure duntaxat occidere possunt, atque eos tantum qui publice offendunt, idque inoffenso Deo, nisi Deus aliud praecipiat.

¹ Cows, habits, &c.

² Orders and Sects.

³ Clerical Marriage.

⁴ Vows.

⁵ Excommunication.

⁶ Ill-gotten gain.

⁷ The Magistrate.

41. Quum illis pro quibus rationem* reddere coguntur, consilia et auxilia legitime administrant, debent et illi ipsi magistratibus subsidia corporalia.

42. Quando vero perfide et extra regulam Christi egerint, possunt cum Deo deponi.

43. Huius regnum optimum est et firmissimum qui ex Deo et cum Deo regnat; huius vero pessimum et infirmissimum qui sua libidine.

44.¹ Veri adoratores invocant Deum in spiritu et veritate, corde orantes, non clamore coram hominibus.

45. Hypocritae omnia opera sua faciunt ut videantur ab hominibus; propterea mercedem suam hic recipiunt.

46. Cantiones ergo, seu verius boatus, qui in templis sine devotione pro mercede fiunt, aut laudem aut quaestum ab hominibus quaerunt.

47.² Potius mortem eligere debet homo quam Christianum offendere aut pudefacere.

48. Qui ex infirmitate aut ignorantia absque causa vult offendi, non patiamur ut is infirmus et ignorans maneat; sed demus operam ut rite edoctus firmus tandem evadat, nec peccatum ducat quod peccatum non est.

49. Maius et gravius scandalum non puto, quam quod sacerdotibus matrimonio legitimo interdicitur; concubinas et scorta habere accepta ab eis pecunia permittitur.

50.³ Solus Deus peccata remittit, idque per solum Christum Iesum Dominum nostrum.

51. Qui remissionem peccatorum creaturae tribuit, Deum gloria sua spoliatur et idololatra est.

52. Confessio ergo, quae sacerdoti aut proximo fit, non pro remissione peccatorum, sed pro consultatione haberi debet.

53. Opera satisfactionis a sacerdote imposita humanae sunt traditionis (excepta excommunicatione); peccatum non tollunt, sed aliis in terrorem imponuntur.

54.⁴ Christus dolores nostros et omnes labores nostros tulit; qui vero operibus poenitentialibus tribuit quod Christi solius est, errat et Deum blasphematur.

55. Qui vel unicum peccatum poenitenti remittere negat is non Dei nec Petri sed diaboli vicem tenet.

56. Qui quaedam tantum peccata idque pro mercede aut pecunia remittunt, Simonis et Balaami socii sunt, et veri satanae legati.

¹ Prayer.

² Offence.

³ Forgiveness of sins.

⁴ The passion of Christ is penance for sin.

57.¹ Scriptura sacra purgatorium post hanc vitam nullum novit.

58. Defunctorum iudicium soli Deo cognitum est.

59. Quominus de hisce rebus nobis revelat Deus, hoc minus nobis pervestigandae sunt.

60. Si quis pro mortuis sollicitus, apud Deum gratiam eis implorat aut precatur, non damno; sed tempus de hoc definire et propter quaestum mentiri non humanum est sed diabolicum.

61.² De caractere, quem postremis hisce temporibus excogitarunt sacrifici, nihil novit divina Scriptura.

62. Scriptura alios presbyteros aut sacerdotes non novit quam eos qui verbum Dei annunciant.

63. Illis vero presbyteris, de quibus diximus, qui verbum Dei praedicant, Scriptura divina iubet ut necessaria ministrentur.

64.³ Qui errorem agnoscunt, illis nihil damni inferendum, ferantur autem donec in pace decedant, deinde sacerdotiorum bona iuxta Christianam charitatem ordinentur.

65. Qui errorem non agnoscunt nec ponunt, Deo sunt relinquendi, nec vis corporibus illorum inferenda nisi tam enormiter ac tumultuose se gerant, ut parcere illis magistratui salva publica tranquillitate non liceat.

66. Humilient se illico quicumque in ecclesia sunt praefecti, crucemque Christi (non cistam) erigant! aut perditio eorum adest, nam securis radici arboris est admota.

67. Si cui libet disserere mecum de decimis, redditibus, de infantibus non baptizatis, de confirmatione, non detrectabo colloquium.

No. 187. Letter of Adrian VI to Zwingli, 23 Jan. 1523.

Dilecte fili, salutem et apostolicam benedictionem! Remittimus venerabilem fratrem Ennium⁴ episcopum Verulanum, praelatum domesticum nostrum et apostolicae sedis nuncium, hominem prudentia et fide praestantem, ad istam invictam nobisque et huic sanctae sedi coniunctissimam nationem, ut de maximis rebus nos eandem sedem totamque Christianam rempublicam concernentibus cum illo agat. Licet autem ei dederimus in mandatis ut ea communiter cum omnibus et publice tractet: tamen cum de tua egregia virtute specialiter nobis sit

¹ Purgatory.

² Priesthood and ordination.

³ Putting away of abuses.

⁴ Ennius Filonardi, Bishop of Veroli, 1503-46.

cognitum, nosque devotionem tuam arctius amemus ac diligamus ac peculiarem quandam in te fidem habeamus, mandavimus eidem episcopo, nuncio nostro, ut tibi separatim nostras litteras redderet, nostramque erga te optimam voluntatem declararet. Hortamur itaque devotionem tuam in Domino ut et illi omnem fidem habeat, et quo nos animo ad honores tuos et commoda tendimus, eodem tu in nostris et dictae sedis apostolicae rebus procedas: de quo gratiam apud nos invenies non mediocrem. Datam Romae apud S. Petrum sub annulo piscatoris. Die 23 Ianuarii anno 1523. Pontificatus nostri anno primo.

**No. 188. The address of the Burgomaster,
29 Jan. 1523.**

Quandoquidem non paucae concertationes et dissidia plura in urbe nostra propter Huldrici Zuinglii conciones publicas exorta sunt, viri omni virtutum genere et eruditione praestantissimi; quae eo tandem devenisse constat ut propter dogmata publice tradita ab aliis quidem seductor, ab aliis vero haereticus quoque saepenumero dictus sit: non in urbe modo sed in agrum quoque concertationes istae diffusae et ecclesiarum ministros et rudem rerum populum exagitant, et amplissimi magistratus nostri aures continuis et assiduis querelis fatigant. Ceterum quum obtrectionum et convitiolorum eiusmodi finis nullus appareret: Zuinglius pro publica concione se omnis fidei et doctrinae suae rationem publice quoque redditurum esse pollicitus est, si publica aliqua instituatur disputatio. Quapropter tam iusta petenti sanctus urbis nostrae senatus nequaquam deesse volens, et concertationum huiusmodi dissidia tollere cupiens, liberam et publicam coram Diacosiorum consensu disputationem instituit, ad quam omnes tam in urbe quam agro ecclesiarum ministros convocandos esse duxit. Sed et R. D. Constantiensis episcopus vocatus legatos suos honorificentissimos huc transmitters dignatus est, pro quo in nos officio magnas nos illi gratias debere fatemur. Si quis ergo ex vobis Huldrici Zuinglii doctrinam in huius urbis nostrae ecclesia publice traditam reprehensione dignam putaverit, si quis certis rationibus demonstrare potuerit, eam vel falsam vel haereticam esse: huic liberum esto ipsum publice coram hoc consensu vestro erroris arguere et divinae Scripturae oraculis meliora edocere; nec est ut ullius periculi metu territus, quae dicenda esse novit, reticeat. Liberum enim cuivis esse vult amplissi-

mus urbis nostrae senatus fidem suam fateri et asserere, ut tandem a crebris variisque istis querelis, quae ex concertationibus huiusmodi inter clericos simul et laicos exoriri solent quibusque iam abunde satis defatigati sunt, liberentur.

**No. 189. From the First Disputation at Zürich,
29 Jan. 1523.**

Io. Faber Vicarius Const.—Multis quidem de sua calamitate conquestus confrater meus Huldricus Zuinglius se sanctum Evangelium in Tigurina ecclesia publice annuntiavisse testatur; nec dubito quin hoc ab ipso praestitum sit. Quis enim ad verbi ministerium a Deo ordinatus Evangelii doctrinam et divinum Paulum non bona fide praedicet? Nam et ego animarum pastor, indignus forsitan, constitutus sum, et meae institutioni et curae commissas non aliud nisi Evangelii veritatem adhuc docui (cuius rei testes complures producere possem); nec in posterum huius praedicationi defuturus sum, nisi Dominus Deus aliis episcopi mei negotiis me involverit. Evangelium enim, ut Paulus Rom. i. 16 inquit, potentia Dei est ad salutem omni credenti. Porro quum Zuinglius se a multis eo nomine traduci et reprehendi quiritetur, quod veritatem minus fideliter tradiderit, et se fidei et doctrinae suae rationem publice Constantiae quoque redditurum esse promittat: non aliud ego quidem respondere possum quam me, si quando Constantiam veniret, omne amici officium in illum ceu amicum et dominum meum collaturum esse; imo non ut amicum sed ut fratrem tractaturum; quod ipsum nobis re vera credi volumus. Praeterea, me nequaquam in hoc venisse testor, ut Evangelicam et apostolicam doctrinam aliqua ex parte oppugnem, sed ut eos qui contra eam aliquid vel dixerunt vel dixisse feruntur, audiam: et ut dissidia si quae inter illos exorta sunt amice componantur, adsum quo omnia haec non ad seditionem et discordiam sed ad publicam pacem referantur. Evangelium enim et divinus Paulus ea solum docent quae gratiam et pacem, non seditiones et turbas pariunt.

Quod si vero contra veteres ritus et longa multorum temporum serie ad nos usque perductas ceremonias et consuetudines pugnare quis voluerit, palam et ingenue, ceu R. D. Constant. episcopi legatus, fateor me de his talibus in hac urbe vestra nullam prorsus disputationem inchoaturum esse. Quantum enim ipse videre possum, istiusmodi res coram generali omnium nationum coetu aut universali omnium episcoporum et doctorum, quorum

in scholis copia est, consilio transigi debebant, quemadmodum apostolorum tempore Hierosolymae factitatum esse legimus Act. xv. Si enim de hac re, vetustissimam et non sine laude ad nos perductam sacrorum rituum consuetudinem tentante, nunc disputare et aliquid adversum concludere vel decernere voverimus: fortassis nostra haec sententia reliquis Christi fidelibus, qui alibi locorum versantur, minus arridere poterit, qui proculdubio illud quoque praetexent, quod in nostram opinionem non consenserint. Quid enim hic de nobis Hispania decem potentissimis regnis clara dicet? quid Italia? quid Franciae regnum? quid tota Septentrioni subiecta regio? Huiusmodi ergo res, ut modo diximus, coram generali concilio transigendae (si quidem auctoritatem illis inesse velimus) et confirmandae erunt. Quapropter (ut ex me quoque ceu Christi membro et confratre nunc loquar) vos oro et adhortor ut maturo consilio considerare instituatis, ne quid forte infelicius et turbulentius hinc exoriri queat. Bona igitur fide sic vobis optime consultum fore credo, si omnes contentiones et dissidia (quae vel de pontificiis vel aliis humanis constitutionibus inveteratis exorta sunt) deponentes rem hanc omnem citra disputationis litem sedari vel saltem differri patiamini, si qua forte commodior in posterum de his agendi occasio sese offerat. Iam ante enim cognovit R. D. Constant. episcopus, in Norimbergensibus comitiis per Imperii status Concilium generale institutum esse, quod in Germania intra anni spatium celebrandum sit; in quo, ut fertur, dimidia iudicum pars ex saecularibus, altera ex ecclesiasticis constituetur, quorum erit de iis quibus nunc totus fere orbis turbatus est, pronuntiare. Hoc ergo si fiat, coram illis, utpote auctoritate et potestate praeditis, haec quoque commode proponi et tractari possent. Deinde hoc unum R. D. meus summis quibus potest precibus petit et obsecrat ut huiusmodi concertationes de rebus ecclesiasticis, si ullo modo fieri possit, citra omnem disputationem amice et placide componere tentetis. Licet enim de huiusmodi constitutionibus, decretis et consuetudinibus longo usu confirmatis per Scripturas disputare instituerimus: quis tamen nobis iudex erit, qui de istis pronuntiet? Mea certe sententia, coram Universitatibus, utpote Lutetia, Colonia, aut¹ Lovanio haec proponenda erant. Illic enim plures Scripturarum peritissimos invenire liceret: penes quos ista cum

¹ Quam haec dicerentur, Zuinglius sermonem interrumpens ait: Quid vero si Erfordia aut Viteberga huic negotio destinaretur? Respondit Vicarius: Minime, quia Lutherus nimis vicinus est. Ab aquilone panditur omne malum.

auctoritate aliqua possent transigi. Nolim autem haec ita accipiantur, quasi cuiusquam honori aut eruditioni detractum velim. Sed ut Christi membrum fidei quoque et Christiano animo ista moneo. Interim vero, quod commissum mihi munus attinet, iam ante dictum est, me non nisi auscultandi gratia huc ablegatum esse.

H. Zuinglius.—In hoc unum certe D. Vicarium incumbere videmus, fratres in Christo carissimi, ut multis iisque variis labyrinthis per operosam et lubricam sermonis structuram animos vestros simplices involvat et ab instituto retrahat.

Primo enim se contra vetustissimos ritus et longa consuetudine solemniter confirmatas ecclesiasticorum constitutiones nequaquam disputaturum esse testatur. Atqui nulla hic quaestio est, quanto temporis spatio vel hoc vel illud in usu fuerit: sed de ipsa rei veritate hic agitur, an videlicet homo ad eorum obedientiam divina lege astringatur, quae humanis constitutionibus sunt tradita. Nos enim consuetudinem, quemadmodum et pontificii iuris canones¹ docent, veritati omnino cedere debere arbitramur.

Deinde istiusmodi res in nationali aliqua synodo vel in generali episcoporum concilio transigendas esse tradit. Ego vero in hac aula Christianum coetum convenisse credo. Maximam enim e nobis partem eorum esse spero, qui divinae voluntatis amore et veritatis studio commoti huc venerint: cuius cognitionem Dominus Deus nunquam nobis negaturus est, si quidem hanc in ipsius honorem ex animo petierimus. Ubique enim, inquit Dominus, duo vel tres congregati fuerint in nomine meo, ego ero in medio ipsorum. Praeterea non tales episcopi in vetustissimis illis conciliis consederunt, quales hodie cum principum fastu et potentia certare videmus; quemadmodum multi sibi falso imaginantur. Sanctissimi enim patres, in Christianae fidei causis congregati, nequaquam tanta saeculi huius gloria et potentia instructi principes fuere, quales nos hodie necessario requiri existimamus. Testantur hoc plures e scriptorum numero fide dignissimi. Testatur idem vetustissimum episcopi vocabulum, quod proprie nihil nisi speculatorem aut excubitem, qui pro populo sibi ad fidei et religionis institutionem commissio vigilare debet, significat². Quum itaque in hoc coetu nostro permulti sint vere fideles tam nostrates quam exteri, tot denique pii et docti episcopi praesentes adsint,

¹ *Corpus iuris canonici, Dist. viii, c. 4* 'Veritati et rationi consuetudo est postponenda' (i. 14, ed. Friedberg).

² 'Das ist uff güt ditsch: ein pfarrer,' *C. R.* lxxxviii. 495.

qui profecto divinam veritatem audire et novisse, sed et provehere cupiunt: nihil equidem etiam hoc loco obesse video, quominus ad Vicarii sententiam de istis rebus disputare, et quae veritas docet discernere nobis liceat.

At reliquae nationes, inquit, in nostra illa decreta nunquam consentient. Atqui haec una hodie omnium fidelium querela est quod mitrati illi et saeculari potentia armati episcopi¹ et ecclesiarum proceres puram Evangelii doctrinam et sacras Scripturas e populi manibus extorquere conantur. Scripturarum enim expositionem penes nullum alium quam se ipsos esse debere clamitant; quasi vero non reliqui de Christiana plebe sancti homines Christiani sint, et aliqua Spiritus sancti virtute illuminari possint, quasi denique illis divino verbo necessario carendum sit. Nec desunt ex illorum numero qui divinae Scripturae mysteria revelare nefas esse dicere non verentur. Haud enim dubito si apud alias quoque nationes pura Christi veritas citra omnem humanarum traditionum admixtionem praedicaretur, nec pontificiis, imperatoriis aut episcopalibus decretis impediretur; etiam illi, utpote Christianis animis praediti, veritatem recepturi et humana placita relicturi, in eorumque sententiam, qui divini verbi radiis illustrati sunt, consensuri essent.

Porro quae de Concilio intra anni spatium celebrando Norimbergae consultata esse dicuntur, non in alium finem mihi videntur confingi quam ut simplici vulgo tantisper divini verbi veritas intercipiatur. Nam et ego nudius tertius Norimberga litteras accepi, in quibus aliqua quidem Concilii mentio fit, sed numquid plene de hoc statutum aut decretum sit, nondum constat. Pontifices enim, episcopi et reliqui ecclesiasticorum magnates nullum Concilium (in quo pura divini verbi auctoritas sola valeat) ferre aut admittere possunt. Ad haec, licet in hoc omnes Christiani populi operae intenderentur, non tamen effici posset, ut intra anni spatium illud celebraretur. Impossibile enim esset, ut intra tam angustum tempus conmeatus victusque tantae multitudini sufficiens conveheretur. Sed ut demus hoc, Concilium aliquando futurum: quid interea cum illis agetur, quorum conscientiae iam nunc mire turbatae sunt et veritatem cognoscere studiosissime cupiunt? An vero sitibundae istorum mentes divino verbo spoliandae et in dubitatione tanta deserendae sunt? Num humanis traditionibus illas terreri et omni notitia veri destitutas vel vivere vel mori permittemus? Magna profecto, mihi credite fratres, haec res est. Deus iudex noster nunquam quid per pontifices, episcopos et concilia statutum

¹ 'Die grossen hansen, bischoff und prelaten.'—*Ibid.* 496.

sit, nec quanta longi temporis consuetudine hoc illudve confirmatum sit, a nobis requiret, sed num ipsius voluntas, ipsius verbum et praecepta custodita sint, interrogabit.

Porro, quid de iudicibus (quos extra Universitates Vicarius nusquam reperire potest) dicere attinet? Habemus hic iudices, qui nec personarum respectu errare, neque ullo alio affectu excaecati falli possunt, Dei nimirum Scripturas quae nec fallere nec mentiri norunt. Hae nobis in Hebraea simul Graeca et Latina lingua praesentes sunt. Has utrinque aequi et iusti iudicis loco recipiemus. Habemus praeterea in hac urbe nostra, divinae liberalitatis beneficio, plures in linguis hisce tribus tam feliciter exercitatos viros quam in ulla scholarum, quas ante Vicarius recensuit, invenire liceat. De iis loquor qui Universitatum rectores et procures sunt: non enim Erasmus Roterodanum aut alios ipsi similes, qui nonnunquam ceu hospites in scholis istis versantur, hic intelligo. Assident hic etiam plures sacrae Scripturae doctores, non desunt iuris Canonici doctores, adsunt etiam e variis Universitatibus plures doctissimi viri. Horum erit citatas a nobis Scripturas audire et legere, ut videant num vera sint quae istarum auctoritate probantur. Licet vero hisce omnibus prorsus destituti essemus, non dubito tamen in hoc coetu nostro quam plurimas esse vere fidelium mentes, Sancti Spiritus luce edoctas et vero intellectu praeditas, ut vel hi soli per Dei Spiritum facillime discernere possent, utrinam e nobis Scripturis legitime utantur, vel illas violenter in sensum perversum detorqueant. Quapropter etiam hoc loco nulla excusationis causa relinquitur.

Non terreant ergo vos sermones istiusmodi, o fratres. Vos autem in primis appello, Tigurinae urbis concives, qui hoc ceu singulare divinae gratiae et vocationis indicium agnoscere debetis, quod haec in urbe vestra in Dei et veritatis honorem ac gloriam instituta sunt: ne posthac, qui vestrae ditioni et imperio parent, de salute animarum dubii variis quoque concertationibus, ut antehac factum est, exerceantur. Dominum Deum totis animis invocate! Is, si vera fide id fiat quemadmodum Iacobus promittit, sui cognitionem vobis nunquam denegaturus est. Interim nullis verbis utcunque blandis et splendidis vos moveri patiamini!

Haec ubi Zuinglius magna cum gravitate perorasset, magnum silentium inter omnes fuit, adeo ut Tigurinae civitatis Consul ad dicendum aut respondendum hortaretur si qui essent qui, quod opponere possent, haberent. . . .

[Then followed discussions on the Intercession of Saints (Op.

i. 150), *Celibacy of Clergy* (*ib.* 156), *and the authority of the Church* (*ib.* 162).] Tum vero Consul omnes qui non Senatorii ordinis essent, domum abire iussit, et Senatusconsultum expectare. Iam enim meridies appropinquabat. Senatum vero totum manere voluit, plura cum his consulturus. Ubi vero pransum esset, in Curiam denuo convocati sunt omnes, ut Senatusconsultum, quod interea latum erat, audirent.

No. 190. The Decree of the Council, 29 Jan. 1523.

Convenistis huc Tigurini Senatus auctoritate et mandatis evocati. Quoniam vero anno abhinc ferme elapso R. D. Constantiensis episcopi Legati coram Tigurinae civitatis Senatu comparuerunt, cum quibus ita res instituta tum erat ut R. D. Constantiensis huc incumberet, ut omnes dioecesis suae pastores et ecclesiae in unum collecti mutuis consiliis et operis in hoc laborarent, ut unanimi consensu certi aliquid de his fidei controversiis statueretur, quod omnes tuto sequi possent: quum autem interea per Constantiensem episcopum, magnis fortasse de causis et arduis, nihil omnino transactum sit: interim tamen controversiae huius lis et contentio magis magisque gliscere et augeri incipiat: Tigurinae civitatis Cos. Senatus totusque Populus non sine divini nominis auspicio, publicae pacis et Christianae concordiae gratia, hunc conventum vestrum instituerunt, et a R. D. Constantensi; ut hic Legatos suos ad nos mittere dignaretur, impetrarunt; pro quo officio nobis praestito magnas nos illi gratias debere fatemur. Simul vero omnes ex agro suo verbi ministros et ecclesiarum antistites convocandos esse duxerunt, ut qui haereseos crimina sibi mutuo intenterant, commodius dirimi possent.

Quoniam vero contra Huldricum Zuinglium, maioris nostrae ecclesiae antistitem et ecclesiasten (quem multi clam haereticum esse convitiati sunt) post articulorum aut propositionum ipsius promulgationem nemo prodire visus est, qui illum sacrae Scripturae oraculis convincere conaretur, licet non semel eos provocarit, qui illum ante haereticum dixerant: prudentissimi viri Cos. S. P. Q. Tigurinus decreverunt et omnino ratum volunt ut Huldricus Zuinglius sacrosanctam Evangelii doctrinam et divini verbi oracula (ut huc usque ab illò factitatum est) annuntiare et praedicare pergat. Praeterea aliorum quoque, quotquot vel in urbe vel agro verbi ministerio praesunt, est nihil aliud instituere aut docere nisi quod Evangelicae doctrinae testimonio et Sacrae Scripturae auctoritate per ipsos probari

possit. Ab omnibus vero vel haeresium vel alioſum ſclerum criminationibus ut abſtineatur atque in totum temperetur, iidem cavent. Si qui enim in his ſeſe immorigeros et rebelles prae-
buerint, eas de ſe poenas ſumi ſentient, ut ſe inique et iniuſte feciſſe omnibus teſtari queant. Actum Tiguri Ianuarii xxix.
Anno MDXXIII.

No. 191. The Biſhop's Paſtoral, 10 July 1523.

. . . Et quia quotidie audimus nonnullos eſſe qui de fidei articulis, de diva virgine, de ſacramentis et etiam damnatis haereſibus ac erroribus impie et contra communem conſenſum Chriſti fidelium ſentiant, haereſesque ante multa ſaecula damna-
tas quaſi ab inferis revocare non vereantur, unde huic tam indignae rei occurrere volentes eccleſiaeque conſuetudini atque etiam Caſareis mandatis innixi, inhibemus omnibus et ſingulis nobis ſubiectis, ut ab illis ſibi caveant et damnatas haereſes non praedicent aut alias pertinaciter defendant ; alioquin contra illos iuſtitia mediante ſtrictiſſime procedemus. Nam quantum ex alto dabitur, hanc in fide ac religione Chriſti iniuriam omnino diutius nolle pati propoſuimus ; quare unusquiſque ab illis in poſterum ſibi cavere ſtudeat. Vos itaque omnes et ſinguli in Chriſto dilecti haec omnia et ſingula diligenter exſequi curetis, prout Imperialis Maiestatis et noſtram gravem evitare volueritis indignationem. . . .

No. 192. The Form of Baptiſm at Zürich, May 1525.

The miniſter of the church firſt ſays :

In the name of God. Amen. Our help ſtandeth in the name of the Lord, who hath made heaven and earth.

Then he aſks the godfathers and godmothers :

Will ye that this child be baptized with the baptiſm of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt ?

Answer : Yea.

Then the prieſt ſays : Name this child.

The godmothers ſay : N.

Then the prieſt ſays : Let us then all pray God together ; O, almighty and eternal God, who through the flood diſt by thy mighty judgement condemn the unbelieving world and thyſelf deliver of thy great mercy faithful Noah : who diſt drown obdurate Pharaoh with all his hoſt in the Red Sea, and diſt bring

thy people Israel through the same dry-shod, figuring thereby this bath of baptism : We pray thee, of thine unmerited mercy, that thou wouldest graciously look upon this thy servant N., and kindle the light of faith in his heart whereby he may be incorporate into thy Son, and with Him be buried in death and raised again to newness of life ; that so, following Him daily, he may joyfully bear his cross, and hold fast to Him with true faith, firm hope, and fervent charity: and that, for thy sake, he may so manfully quit this life, which is naught else but death, that, at the last day, he may appear with boldness at the general judgement of thy Son. Grant this through the same thy Son our Lord Jesus Christ, who liveth and reigneth with Thee in the unity of the Holy Ghost, one God. Amen.

The minister says : The Lord be with you.

Answer : And with thy spirit.

The minister says : That which now followeth standeth in the gospel of Mark in the tenth chapter at the thirteenth verse.

Answer : Glory be to thee, O Lord.

The minister : It came to pass upon a time that 'they brought, &c. . . blessed them'. Thanks be to God ! He willet to forgive us all our sins through His Son !

Then the minister takes the child and says : Will ye that this child be baptized? *Answer :* Yea.

The minister says : Name this child. *Answer :* N.

The minister says : N., I baptize thee in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Ghost.

At the bestowal of the Chrisom : God grant thee that as thou art now clothed bodily with a white robe, so, at the last day, thou mayest appear before Him with a clean and open conscience. Amen.

The Lord be with you ! Go in peace !

No. 193. From Zwingli's De Canone Missae Epicheiresis, 29 Aug. 1523.

... *Haec quotiescunque feceritis, in mei memoriam facietis.* Lucas habet post panis porrectionem : 'Hoc facite in meam commemorationem.' Tametsi non sum nescius, cum hoc verbum, tum alia, ad utramque speciem referre debere. Pauli 1 Cor. xi. 24 verbis haec nostra sunt similiora, ubi post panis porrectionem sic inquit : 'Hoc facite in meam commemorationem.' Post vini sic : 'Hoc facite, quotiescunque bibetis, in meam commemorationem.' Atque ne ignoremus quidnam

Christus voluerit hoc verbo significare, addit : 'Quotiescunque manducaveritis panem hunc et poculum biberitis, annunciate mortem Domini donec veniat.' His apertissimis verbis ostenditur ipsam synaxim aliud non esse quam commemorationem passionis dominicae. Qua fronte igitur quaeso ex commemoratione oblationem fecerunt isti? Unde qui fideles sumus, dum Christi corpus et sanguinem edimus ac bibimus, mortem Domini ebuccinemus, idque quamdiu mundus constiterit. Causa praeconii satis ampla est, quod Christus nos liberavit sua morte et sanguinis effusione, atque eadem in cibum tradidit quae fide comedimus non dentibus, propter quam Deus nobis invisibiliter illabatur ac animum pascit.

Unde et memores, Domine, nos servi tui, sed et plebs tua sancta. Hic 'servos' pro ministrantibus sacerdotibus positos esse autumo, ne unquam sibi primas non tribuerent. *Christi Filii tui Domini Dei nostri tam beatæ passionis, necnon et ab inferis resurrectionis sed et in coelos gloriosae ascensionis.* Ut ne barbariem hic caviller tantisper tolerandam, est haec precationis pars non inconsulte superioribus coniuncta. Cum enim dixisset Christus : 'Hoc facite in meam commemorationem,' recte dicimus, O Domine, memores Filii tui passionis, descensionis ad inferos,' &c. Verum quod mox sequitur, non video quomodo non sit per summam oscitantiam iunctum. *Offerimus praeclaræ maiestati tuæ de tuis donis et datis, hostiam puram, hostiam sanctam, hostiam immaculatam.* Blasphemia haec est : solus enim Christus talem hostiam offerre potuit, et creatura praeterea nulla. Deinde obsecro quantum cerebri habuisse putes eum qui iam iam dixerat : O Domine, quod haec in commemorationem facere iussisti, en facimus ; et priusquam huius sententiae deverbia abierint, sic infit : 'Offerimus' ? Sed ogganniunt quidam scioli : Haec commemoratio est oblatio, quamvis nihil adferant quo id probent. Unde eos adinoneo ut orationem suam vertant, et dicant : Haec oblatio est commemoratio : nihil enim aliud est, ut satis iam visum est. . . .

No. 194. Ordinance for the reform of the Great Minster, 29 Sept. 1523.

Whereas yesterday the Provost and Chapter of SS. Felix and Regula appeared, at the Provostry, before our Lords the Burgomaster and Council, . . . and asked them to appoint certain persons to advise, along with delegates of the Chapter,

upon certain articles, &c. : and whereas* the Burgomaster and Council appointed three of their number to act with the commissaries of the Provost and Chapter aforesaid: Now therefore, by the common consent of both sides, Articles are resolved as follows :—

1. First, inasmuch as divers troubles have arisen by reason of the clergy making overcharge, in the matter of tithes, fees, and burdens, whereof the ordinary man complains, the Provost and Chapter hereby agree to surrender all their church-dues at the Great Minster, viz. the burdens which the ordinary man has hitherto had to pay. Further, they agree that, at the Great Minster, no one shall be required to pay for baptism, for the administration of the sacraments, for spiritual advice, or for a grave-space, without a gravestone: though, if any one wishes to have a gravestone, he must pay for it. No one is to be required to set up candles at a funeral; though if any one wishes to stick them up, he must be at charges for them. And if any one wishes to have the bells tolled for the departed in the Minster only, then he need not pay: but, if in the Minster and in other churches as well, then he must pay the fee as hitherto.

4. Further, it is thought good that the number of priests and clergy be reduced, so far as can be done with a good conscience, until no more persons remain than suffice for the preaching of God's Word and other Christian purposes. Those who are now occupied as Canons¹ and Prebendaries¹ may remain, and die in peace. But no one is to be appointed in their place, till a number is reached to be determined by both sides: and their prebends are to be devoted to Christian and useful purposes hereafter to be determined.

5. Further . . . it is resolved that well-learned, able, and honest men be appointed to give public lectures day by day in Holy Scripture, for an hour in the Hebrew, an hour in the Greek, and an hour in the Latin tongue, as is necessary for the right understanding of divine Scripture. . . .

6. Further, provision should be made for an honourable, learned, and discreet priesthood, to the honour of God and of our City and Country, and for the salvation of souls, at the House of God known as SS. Felix and Regula: and likewise steps should be taken, according to need, to find right, true, and capable men in God's Word and the Christian life, to set over our pious subjects as pastors, parish-, and people's-priests.

¹ The Minster had 24 Canons and over 30 Prebendaries or Chaplains.—*c. R.* lxxxix. 609.

7. Further, a schoolmaster shall be more liberally paid than hitherto, to diligently teach young boys . . . so that they shall not go to foreign places for school and learning . . . and a suitable dwelling-house shall be built for him.

11. Further, whosoever shall be appointed to any such prebends, lectureships, or offices shall not be confirmed nor continued therein save in so far as he shall exercise himself therein as the office requires : but he may be thrust out therefrom ; no harm, however, to be done to such as are disabled through sickness or any other misfortune.

12. And so soon as the prebends, offices, and arrangements aforementioned shall be honestly provided, any surplus of tithes, rents, and revenues shall be devoted to the relief of the needy in the hospital and of poor people at home. . . .

No. 195. The summons to the Second Disputation, 12 Oct. 1523.

Tigurinae Reip. Cos. totusque Diacosiorum Senatus omnibus et singulis ecclesiarum praesidibus, plebanis, parochis et Verbi ministris in comitatibus, urbibus, dominiis et aliis ditioni suae subiectis locis agentibus salutem cum debita benevolentia precatur.

Non ignoratis quidem ut Evangelica doctrina et sacrae Scripturae veritas hoc saeculo nostro clarius sese proferat, et purius quam antehac factum sit praedicetur. Quae res apud imperitos et rerum rudes homines multum contentionis et dissidii parere consuevit ; dum videlicet alius quidem pristinam doctrinam retinere conatur, alius vero Christi populum antehac nimis maligne et fraudulenter institutum esse existimat. Quum vero intra anni spatium omnibus, qui in ditione nostra agunt, ecclesiarum ministris in publicam synodum convocatis per nos iniunctum simul et praeceptum sit, ne quid vel in urbe vel in agro nostro praedicent, quam quod S. S. testimoniis approbari et defendi queat : huius institutione et imagines non ferendas et Missam a pristina forma, per Christum salvatorem nostrum instituta, quam plurimum degeneravisse didicimus. Quae res novas lites et contentiones apud nostros simul et alios plures excitavit. Quapropter publicam pacem tueri et discordias apud nostrates e medio tollere nostri officii esse putavimus. Unde quo dissidiorum turbae sedari et multorum vanissimi de nobis sermones compesci possent, alteram (quod faustum felisque sit) synodum convocavimus.

Vobis vero omnibus et singulis ecclesiarum ministris praecipimus et mandamus ut feria secunda ante Simonis et Iudae festum in Tigurina curia congregati ea in medium proferatis quaecunque in S. S. exstare novistis quibus usus istiusmodi defendi posse putatis. Quodsi vero quis exterorum quoque huic negotio se adiungere volet, illud unicuique liberum esto! Hic enim una cum doctis et eruditis aliquot non sine singulari studio disputantes audiemus, et negotio omni secundum V. et N. T. Scripturas transacto pleniore consultatione, quid agendum sit, deliberabitur, ut hoc modo turbis istis sublati in divina caritate ut fratres in Christo Iesu salvatore decet, vitam pacificam et quietam transigere possimus.

Praeterea, quo commodius res ista transigi queat, Episcopos quoque Constantiensem, Curiensem et Basiliensem, una cum schola quae illic est, et duodecim Helvetiae nostrae pagos, socios et amicos nostros coniunctissimos, invitare nobis libuit, ut nimirum et hi et alii plures nobis consociati legatos suos una cum eruditis suis ad nos mittere dignentur qui quoque huic instituto nostro sua opera et prudentia adsint; nec dubitamus quin Deus Opt. Max. per Spiritum suum sanctum ita secundaturus sit ut vera doctrina instituti aeternum cum illo vivere possimus.

Actum et Urbis Nostrae Sigillo confirmatum, feria secunda ante Gallum. Anno MDXXIII.

No. 196. The reply of Obwalden, 25 Oct. 1523.

We are always glad to be at your service, but we have no specially well-learned people, only pious and reverend priests who expound to us the holy Gospels and other holy Scriptures, such as were expounded to our forefathers and as the holy Popes and the Council have commanded us. This will we follow and believe to our lives' end, and sooner suffer death therefor, until Pope and Council command us the contrary. Further, we have no intention, so far as it rests with us, of changing what of old time has been so regularly resolved, in common with the whole of Christendom, by consent of Spirituality and Temporality. Moreover, we are not disposed to believe that our Lord God has bestowed so much grace on Zwingli, more than on the dear Saints and Doctors, all of whom suffered death and martyrdom for the Faith's sake: and we have not been specially informed that he leads a spiritual life above all others, but rather that he is more given to disturbance

than to peace and quiet. Wherefore we will not send any one to him, nor to the likes of him. For we do not believe in him : and, [in proof] that this is so, our mind is that if we had hold of him and could contrive to make our own reckoning with him, we should so reward him that he would never do any more. No more, save to commend you to God.

**No. 197. From the Second Disputation,
26-8 Oct. 1523.**

(i) *On Images*, 26 Oct.

Sebastianus Hoffmannus [Praeses]. Quoniam Leo confrater meus dilectus planissimum Scripturae locum¹ produxit, quo luce clarius docetur, etiamsi nullos alios praeter hunc unicū haberemus, imagines in Christiano populo, in templis maxime, nequaquam ferendas (domi, si quis volet, vel plaustra simulacris onusta habeat!) nec modo non adorandas esse sed nec haberi nec pingi aut fingi debere: necesse erit, ut qui simulacra tueri conetur, divinae Scripturae testimoniis illa servari aut retineri posse probet, non sui ingenii rationibus nitatur. Quod si quis ergo his contradicendum esse putarit, Scripturas proferat et sui ingenii commenta sibi reservet!

Porro, ne quis simulacra clam servare licitum esse putaret, quidam respondit: Non ea modo quae in templis prostant, sed et ea quae clam asservantur, simulacra prohibita sunt. Testatur hoc disertis verbis Moses, Deut. xxvii. 15. . . . Addebat his Conradus Grebelius²: Siquidem inter Christianos simulacra esse non debent, utique nec in abscondito servari debent. Haec enim divini verbi esset dispensatio. His dictis altum silentium diu omnes tenuit, ita ut ad dicendum provocandi essent. Tandem Henricus Lutius, Vitoduranus ecclesiastes, huiusmodi sermonem habuit.

H. Lutius. Plures equidem esse credidissem, P. C. et fratres in Christo colendi, qui sua sponte duas illas Christianas de idolis et Missa propositiones subvertere conarentur; quum alibi quidem in publicis concionibus omnes eos proscindant et indignis calumniis persequantur, qui sacrosanctam evangelii veritatem ex Christi sententia quam simplicissime in lucem producere student. Quoniam vero saepius iam provocati tacent,

¹ He adduced 1 Cor. v. 11; x. 7, 8; Gal. v. 20; Acts xv. 20; 1 Pet. iv. 3 and 1 John v. 21.

² Son of a senator at Zürich; and, with Felix Manz, a leader of the Anabaptists there: †1526.

ego certe, ne nihil hic agatur, et ut aliis quoque disputandi praebeatur occasio et divina veritas clarius innotescat, ipsas S. S. testimoniis, quatenus hoc fieri posset, subvertere conabor. Praeceptor et confrater meus in Christo dilectus, H. Zuinglius, et Leo frater, duas istas propositiones de simulacris et Missa se S. S. testimoniis asserturos esse polliciti sunt: nimirum nec simulacra ferri debere, nec Missam esse sacrificium. Ceterum omnes S. S. loci abs te producti, Leo! quantum mihi videtur, ad gentium idola falsis et alienis diis posita referuntur, non ad Christi et sanctorum eius imagines.

Leo Iudae. Multa quidem dicis, Henrice! sed pauca probas. Nec enim de tua opinione agitur. Scripturis hanc tuam sententiam probes, necesse est. In hoc enim cardo rei versatur.

H. Lutus. Quum omnipotens ille Deus per gratiam suam Israellem ex Aegypto eductum . . . liberavisset, populus . . . Aaroni dicebant: Surge, fac nobis deos, qui praecedant nos! Vitulum ergo aureum conflantes dicebant: Ecce hi sunt dii nostri, qui nos eduxerunt ex Aegypto! propter quod illorum facinus aliquot millia perierunt. Unde non obscurum est colligere, Deum per prophetas suos huiusmodi imagines duntaxat prohibuisse, non autem eas quibus vel Christus vel sancti eius repraesentantur.

Leo. Audio quidem, Henrice. Illud vero non comprobatum est, simulacra huiusmodi haberi aut retineri debere. Scripturis proba, Deum simulacra vel non prohibuisse, vel habere permisisse.

Seb. Hoffmannus. Benedictus Deus in saecula, qui nunquam non vincit in nobis, i. e. in Verbo suo sacrosancto, cuius et Paulus et apostoli et nos quoque organa et instrumenta sumus, per quae Dei verbum tractari consuevit. Quapropter hodie quoque nos victores constituens Verbi sui lumine evidenter simul et subtiliter demonstravit, simulacra inter Christi populum nequaquam haberi nec ferri debere. Non dubitabitis ergo, P. C., simulacra illa omnia (si quidem citra tumultum et proximi offendiculum id fieri potest) demoliri et e medio tollere. Quoniam vero in vinculis iam quidam sunt, qui simulacra ex proprio mentis suae dictamine, non sine offendiculo tollere conati sunt, nunc autem divini Verbi oraculis demonstratum est, ipsum facinus nec impium nec Dei verbo contrarium esse, et illorum conscientiam, qua ad illud compulsi sunt, nemo iudicare potest;

¹ Heinrich Lütli had been Zwingli's assistant, 1520, and was now pastor at Winterthur.

quin potius credendum est, ipsos Evangelii doctrina quae iam annis aliquot apud vos praedicata est, institutos et motos tale quiddam citra omnem animi malitiam ausos fuisse : et meo et omnium praesidium, collegarum meorum, sed et ministrorum ecclesiae nomine vos oro et obtestor P. C. ut et vos de ipsis aequius iudicare et e vinculis liberatos dimittere dignemini. Consul vero amice respondens rem hanc facile transigi posse dixit, si disputatione finita rei veritatem Senatus et populus plenius cognovisset. His dictis assurgens coetum dimisit, et sub crastinam auroram omnes redire iussit.

(ii) *On the Mass, 27 Oct.*

H. Zuinglius. In nomine Dei Patris. Amen. . . . Primo illud omnibus persuasum esse volumus tam meam quam Leonis et confratris nostri D. Henrici Engelhardi de Missa doctrinam et sententiam nequaquam huc tendere ut aliquem dolum et fraudem in sacrosancto Christi sanguine aut carne subesse suspicemur ; sed huc spectant nostra omnia, ut nullum hic sit sacrificium, quod pro alio quispiam offerre possit. Ut enim pro alio quopiam nemo vel edere vel bibere potest, ita nemo etiam pro alio sacrificare potest. . . . Abusus ergo hic magnum esse videtis, fratres, sed cuius quaestus fuerit uberrimus. Res enim magna hic agitur, cuius respectu, quod heri de simulacris agitatum est, lusus quidam fuisse videri possit. Blasphemum vero, imo antichristianum hoc opus est quo ex Christi corpore et sanguine sacrificium nummis venale confingimus : quum haec Christus salvator noster animorum cibum dumtaxat et passionis ac testamenti sui recordationem esse voluerit. . . . Scripturae autem rationes, quibus hanc sententiam nostram tueri volumus, hae sunt : Christus, Hoc facite, inquit, in mei commemorationem ! Hoc autem Paulus clarius exponens : Quotiescunque, inquit, panem hunc comederitis et poculum hoc biberitis, praedicare mortem Domini donec veniat ! Quo unico fundamento innixi hic non sacrificium sed recordationem solummodo esse docebimus. Si quis ergo haec oppugnare volet, iis armis nos invadat, quibus hic pugnare decet, S. S. nimirum testimoniis.

D. Ioach. Vadianus [Praeses]. Quoniam ea de re disputandum est, P. C., Missane sacrificium sit an secus : commo-
dissimum nobis videtur, quos huius disputationis praesides esse voluistis, ut certus in quaerendo ordo observetur, sic ut primo quidem summi illi ecclesiasticorum procerum, Abbates, deinde reliqui quoque ecclesiarum ministri interrogentur, num quis ex illorum sit numero qui propositionem hanc impugnare

velit. . . . Porro ubi Schafhusianorum ecclesiastes Martinus Steiny interrogatus est, in haec verba orationem habuit.

Mart. Steiny. Semper omnino ea mihi sententia fuit P. C. ut Missam sacrificium esse crederem. . . .

Porro ut ad argumenta quibus Missam sacrificium esse probare institui tandem perveniam, Deus qui mentiri nequit, apud Malachiam prophetam, veteris legis sacerdotes et horum munera, id est, sacrificia reiiciens et gentes sibi peculiariter eligens, sic fatur: Non est mihi voluntas in vobis, et munus non suscipiam de manu vestra. Ab ortu enim solis usque ad occasum magnum est nomen meum in gentibus, et in omni loco sacrificatur et offertur nomini meo oblatio munda, quia magnum est nomen meum in gentibus: dicit Dominus exercituum: Mal. i. 10, 11. Ceterum nemo hominum munda illa est oblatio. . . . De Christo ergo illa omnino intelligenda erunt, qui vere tam sancta et munda oblatio est. Praeterea nec de visibili illa oblatione verba haec intelligi poterunt, qua Christus se ipsum Deo Patri semel in ara crucis pro peccatis nostris obtulit. Quoniam oblatio ea certo in loco, Hierosolymis nimirum, facta est, et proinde nec ubique nec in gentibus, sed in Iudaea est oblata. Relinquitur ergo ut munda illa, quae inter gentes offertur, oblatio non aliud nisi altaris sacrificium sit, quod Christianorum ecclesia inter gentes instituta et ubique locorum dispersa per ministros suos divino nomini offerre consuevit. . . .

Secunda, quae Missam sacrificium esse docet, ratio haec est: Missa eo modo administrari debet quo Christus illam primitus instituit, ut nimirum in ecclesia celebretur. Christus Missam ceu sacrificium instituit. Ergo Missa est sacrificium. Testatur hoc Psal. cx. 4 his verbis: Iuravit Dominus, et non poenitebit: Tu es sacerdos in aeternum ex ordine Melchizedek. Et Gen. xiv. 18 scribitur: Melchizedek rex Salem offerens panem et vinum (erat enim sacerdos Dei altissimi) benedixit ei &c. Et peculiare sacerdotis munus est Deo offerre. Melchizedek ergo Deo panem et vinum obtulit. . . . Quum autem Christus non ad solvendam legem sed ut illam impleret, venerit . . . etiam hoc loco carnem et sanguinem suum sub specie panis et vini tanquam sacrificium instituit, ut nimirum ipsa rei veritas figurae responderet. . . . Haec omnia in Christi passione impleta sunt. . . . At sacerdos (ex) ordine Melchizedek manet in aeternum, sic nimirum ut ad huius exemplum sacrificet; idque quotidie in Missa fit invisibiliter, quum ecclesia carnem et sanguinem eius sub specie panis et vini immolat.

Tertia, qua Missam sacrificium dicere compellor, causa haec

est. . . . Ex omnibus his¹ Scripturis sequitur : primo, in Christiana ecclesia Spiritum sanctum esse qui veritatem doceat, non mendacium ; secundo, omnes pastores, qui per verum ostium ingressi sunt, veritatem docuisse et oves eorundem vocem audivisse ; tertio, si mendacia docuissent pastores, oves vocem illorum non audituras fuisse. Fieri enim non potest ut electae Dei oves per falsam doctrinam seducantur. Quum ergo annis abhinc retro noningentis pastores ecclesiae Missam sacrificium esse et doctrina et scriptis testati sint, qui tamen non omnes mali pastores fuerunt sed boni quam plurimi . . . et oves eandem illam doctrinam approbarint et receperint : constat utique Missam sacrificium esse. . . .

Quarta causa, quae ut Missam pro sacrificio habeam cogit, haec est : Missa recordatio et significatio est passionis Christi, quae semel in redemptionem nostri palam contigit, Luc. xxii. 19, Hoc facite in mei commemorationem. Quoniam vero omne significans significati nomen accipit (sic enim coloribus depictum praetorem ipsum praetorem esse dicimus) : eadem ratione Missa quoque pro sacrificio usurpatur, eo quod Christi sacrificium in cruce peractum significet. Et quum Missa dicatur, sacrificium quoque dici potest. Porro, si rem ipsam consideremus, non nomine modo sed et realiter sacrificium est. Si enim aliqua res aliam significat, et significata in eadem illa significatione realiter continetur : eadem illa res nominatim et realiter praesens est. Quum ergo idem ille Christi sanguis et idem corpus quod in cruce pendit, idemque ille Christus qui in cruce passus est, in ipsa Missa sacrificium sit realiter : Missa certe et nomine et realiter sacrificium est, atque idem illud sacrificium simul et sacrificii est commemoratio. Atqui idem hic Chrysostomi sensus est. Idem omnes Christiani doctores, omnes Scholastici, omnes denique Christianorum Universitates, duabus saltem exceptis, sentiunt, quae omnes Missam sacrificium esse agnoscunt. . . .

Zuinglius. Merito equidem Deus et grandine et fulmine in nos animadverteret, si S.S. oracula ad hunc modum torquere permitteremus, quemadmodum abs te modo factum est, Martine !

Duos enim locos produxisti in quibus mundam oblationem requirat Dominus, nempe Mal. i. 10, 11 et Deut. xvi. 11. Atqui hi loci nos nequaquam attingunt, sed ad solos Iudaeos referuntur. . . .

Leo.—Paucis nunc ad alteras quoque causas et rationes tuas respondebo, Martine ! Secunda in hoc consistit : Christus

¹ John xiv. 16, 17 ; x. 1 sqq. ; Matt. xxiv. 24.

Missam, tanquam sacrificium, instituit. Nos ergo ea ceu sacrificio uti debemus. Antecedens ex Psalmo cx. 4 probas . . . Tu es sacerdos in aeternum (ex) ordine Melchizedek. Coniungitur, quod Gen. xiv. 18 exstare dicis: Melchizedek rex Salem offerens panem et vinum: erat enim sacerdos altissimi. Haec nos ad hunc modum disputamus: Christum in aeternum sacerdotem esse, sicuti Melchizedek vere cum Davide dicitur. Melchizedekum vero panem et vinum obtulisse nego. In Genesi enim non *offerens*, ut tu citas, sed *proferens* legitur. . . . Historia ergo haec ad Missae sacrificium nullo modo referri potest. . . . Deinde illud quoque addis: Christus carnem et sanguinem suum sub specie panis et vini instituit, ut veritas rei cum figura conveniret. Ad haec ego sic respondeo: Christum non in Coena, sed crastino demum die in ara crucis semetipsum obtulit. Testamentum condere, cibum potumque offerre longe aliud quam sacrificare est. . . . Panis ergo et vinum . . . sacrificium dici non possunt. . . .

Tertia causa est, qua Christum et discipulis et universae ecclesiae Spiritum sanctum promisisse dicis, qui illos docturus sit veritatem omnem. . . . Fatemur hoc, Martine! Verum enim hoc est, at tuae sententiae prorsus contrarium. Ut enim Spiritum sanctum apostolis promisit Dominus, ita eundem die Pentecostes illis misit. Spiritus ergo hic apostolos omnem veritatem edocuit. Atqui Missam sacrificium esse apostoli nusquam docuerunt. . . . Sed et Christiana ecclesia Spiritum veritatis habet. . . . Atqui eadem illa ecclesia, quae Dei Spiritum habet, Missam sacrificium esse nequaquam statuit. Quae vero Missam sacrificium esse docet, nec Christiana ecclesia est nec Dei Spiritu regitur. . . . Nec ideo vera est haec sententia, quod annis iam nongentis Missam sacrificium esse docuerint pastores, et oves eandem illam doctrinam receperint. Temporis enim diuturnitas quod per se malum est bonum reddere non potest. . . .

Zuinglius. . . . Quarta, quam profers, causa de praetore coloribus depicto nequaquam huc facit. Nam Christus . . . non in Coena sed crastina demum die in ara crucis carnem et sanguinem suum obtulit. Panis ergo hic et vinum non sacrificium illud, sed Coenam significant. Practerea non omne illud unum idemque dicitur, cuius formam et imaginem praefert: alioqui pictus homo verus homo nobis erit. . . . Veteres qui Coenam hanc sacrificium vocaverunt, hoc sentiunt: sacrificii semel per Christum oblatus fit recordatio . . . non quod vel nos vel sacerdotes Christum offerat: semel enim oblatio illa facta est. . . .

(iii) *On the abuses of the Mass*, 28 Oct.

D. Ioach. Vadianus [Praeses]. Singulis vestrum vel nunc quoque liberum esto, fratres, contra propositiones hasce suam

proferre sententiam; modo non ex humani ingenii scrinio, sed e libris sacris illa depromatur. Quapropter, si qui ex vobis sunt qui plures adhuc in Missa abusus reliquos esse putant (quorum heri aliqua mentio per nonnullos facta est): suam quoque de iis sententiam proponere poterunt.

*D. Balthasar Pacimonianus*¹. Quandoquidem in Missa, quam ego testamentum Christi potius aut mortis sui commemoratio-nem dicere malim, abusus aliquot reliqui sunt: ea certe princi-palis omnium horum causa esse videtur, quod nos Missam pro sacrificio celebramus. Ceterum, ut etiam illud quod mihi in animo versatur proferam . . . non aliud equidem modo pronuntiare possum quam ut cum Zuinglio et Leone Missam sacrificium nullum esse dicam, sed praedicationem potius Testa-menti Christi, qua mortis ipsius memoria celebratur, per quam nimirum se ipsum semel in ara crucis obtulit, nec amplius offerri potest. Huius, inquam, externa tessera et sigillum hoc est quo de remissione peccatorum certiores plenissime reddimur. . . . Christus Hoc facite, inquit, non autem Hoc offerte.

Unde illud primo sequitur Missam, si pro sacrificio habeatur, nec viventibus nec mortuis prodesse. Ut enim pro alio credere non possum, ita nec Missam pro altero celebrare mihi licebit; quum videlicet haec a Christo instituta sit in signum, quo fidelium fides confirmetur.

Secundo, quum corpus et sanguis Christi sigilla et tesserae sint verborum Christi quae in Missa recitari consueverunt: sacerdos utique nihil praeter purum clarumque Dei verbum cuius haec signa sunt pronuntiare debet. Quicumque Missam aliter celebrat a veritate aberrat.

Tertio, qui Dei verbum non pronuntiat, Missam quoque non celebrat. Fatetur idem Christus et Paulus eius discipulus: Hoc facite in mei commemorationem! Quotiescunque hoc feceritis, praedicate mortem Domini! Aut ergo Christus sua sententia cedat oportet, aut consequentia nostra vera est.

Quarto, ut Latinis Missa Latine, ita Gallis Gallice, et Ger-manis Germanice legi debet. Haud enim dubium est quin Christus ea lingua in Coena cum discipulis usus sit quae ab omnibus illis poterat intelligi. Et quum Missae celebratio perinde sit ac si litteras Testamenti recitemus, ridiculum utique est Germano, Latinae linguae imperito, Latinas litteras recitare. Hoc quid aliud est nisi Dominum quem praedicare debebamus, abscondere? Paulus ita nos in ecclesia loqui vult ut intelligamur ab omnibus . . . 1 Cor. xiv. 19.

¹ Balthasar Hübmaier, born c. 1480 at Friedberg, near Augsburg; pastor of Waldshut, 1521-5; burnt as an Anabaptist at Vienna, 10 March, 1528.

Quinto, qui Missam vere celebrare instituit, non se ipsum modo sed et alios esurientes et sitientes Spiritu pascere debet, idque sub utraque specie. Idem Christus et verbis et factis docuit, Matt. xxvi. 27. . . .

Haec mea est, fratres, de simulacris et Missa sententia, quam ex S. S. didici. . . .

Zuinglius. Quicquid citra Christi institutionem hic subintroductum est abusus nomen meretur. Quum vero hi omnes simul tolli et abrogari non possint, divini verbi praedicatione fortiter et assidue impugnandi erunt.

Et primo quidem ecclesiasticum illum cantum et templorum boatus ab ipsis quoque sacerdotibus non intellectos, abusum stultum et inanem, imo pietatis verae impedimentum perniciosissimum esse constat. Paulus enim mavult in ecclesia quinque verba mente loqui ut et alios instituat quam decem millia verborum lingua. Atqui nihil in ecclesia agendum erat quam quod ab ecclesia posset intelligi. Abusus ergo hic corrigi debebat.

Deinde quod tempus attinet, testamentum hoc tempori alligatum esse non debet, sed quocunque tempore quis illud postularit accipere licet.

Idem de vestibus quibus in Missa utuntur sacrifici dicimus. Quamvis in libello de Canone scripto amictum huiusmodi propter infirmiores admiserim, quum nimirum etiam hunc mortis Christi typum esse putarem; quum vero ab aliis edoctus sim vestitum hunc e veteri lege desumptum esse eamque non minimam fuisse occasionem qua nonnulli moti Missam sacrificium esse putaverunt: priorem hanc meam sententiam revocandam esse existimabam. Quapropter quum et cantus et vestitus huc tantummodo serviat ut a vera oratione, id est, mentis ad Deum elevatione nos abstrahat: utrumque e medio tollendum est, suo tamen modo et tempore, ne quid dissidii in Christiano populo oboriri possit. . . . Populus ergo prius edocendus est ut nec vestitum nec cantum istum Missae servire intelligat. Si quis enim nunc vulgari veste amictus Missam celebraret, quis non tumultum oboriturum esse existimet? Per Deum ergo vos oro et obtestor, fratres . . . , ut Dei verbum summo studio quam clarissime commissae vobis plebi annuntiare et exponere instituatis, ut quid Missa et qui eius abusus sint probe intelligant. Populo enim rite instituto omnia ea citra tumultum aliquem tolli poterunt.

Conradus Grebelius. Sunt praeter hos alii quoque abusus, de quibus hic disputandum esse mihi videtur. Scire enim velim num pane fermentato aut infermentato hic utendum sit.

Quantum enim ego conlicere possum, et Christus et apostoli fermentato pane usi videntur.

Zuinglius. Quo panis genere usi sint demonstrari nequit. Sed non multum refert qualisnam ille sit. Penes ecclesias singulas erit de hoc statuere, fermentato aut infermentato pane uti velint. Formam vero rotundam, cui multi nimis superstitiose addicti sunt, non probo; et si quis communi pane hic uti vellet, non multum contradicerem. Nec enim in hoc peccatur, modo alia omnia decenter et religiose fiant. Et ecclesia de illis decernere potest quae Dei verbum non evidenter exprimit; modo in ipsa rei substantia nihil immutetur.

C. Grebelius. Abusus mihi illud quoque esse videtur, quod Christi sanguis citra S. S. testimonium aqua misceri consuevit. Deus enim ne quid verbo ipsius vel addamus vel adimamus expressis verbis prohibuit.

Zuinglius. Bene quidem hoc dicis, Conrade! Aquam enim huic infundere non licet.

Grebelius. Sed et hoc inter abusus mihi commemorandum esse videtur, quod sacerdotes laicis sacramentum ori inserunt, quasi nos manuum auxilio destituti simus.

Zuinglius. Scripturae testimonium certum et expressum hic nullum produci potest. Haud enim certo constat num manibus aut ore excipiendum corpus suum Christus discipulis porrexerit. Licet enim *accipiendi* verbum Evangelistae usurpent, nihil tamen hinc probari potest, quum et Christus in cruce acetum accepisse legatur, quod tamen manuum cruci affixarum opera facere non potuit. Quapropter de hoc quoque decernere iudicium ecclesiae esto!

Grebelius. Spiritum Dei tempori mihi alligare videntur qui non nisi matutino tempore et a ieiunis adhuc sacramentum hoc sumi debere docent. Atqui Christus illud in coena instituit, atque in coena dispensavit. Sed et illud deploratione dignum videtur, quod sacrifici iis modo diebus maxima Spiritus gratia illuminati et donati sunt, quibus aliquae sacerdotii et praebendae, ut vocant, litterae dotales consignatae sunt. Hinc enim ipsos quaestus duntaxat gratia Missam celebrare conicitur.

Zuinglius. Sacramentum tempori alligatum non est, quod vel hinc constat, quod hodie quidem octava, cras decima hora Missa celebrari consuevit. Quod si vero hoc urgere velis, ut eodem illo tempore celebranda sit, quo Christus illam instituit, quis non videat nos tunc et tempore et vestitu et aliis quae per Christum tunc facta sunt, adstringi, adeo ut et iam pedes nobis mutuo lavandi sunt antea? Quapropter etiam hoc ecclesiis singulis liberum relinqui debet. Sacramentum vero sub utraque

specie omnibus porrigi debebat, sicut a Christo factum est. Porro quod quidam e sacerdotum numero nonnisi quaestus gratia Missam celebrant, mihi vehementer dolet, quum nimirum opum tam cupidi sunt ut propter eas Christum vendere non erubescant. Spero autem P. C. vos prudenti et maturo consilio curaturos esse ut sacrifici istiusmodi missare desinant et in pace moriantur. Satiush enim erit vel duas praebendas alicui gratis largiri, quam ut tanta abominatione Deum offendant.

Grebelius. Porro illud mihi cum primis indignum videtur, quod sacerdotes ipsi sibi sacramentum hoc sumunt.

Zuinglius. Unusquisque omnino Spiritu sancto dictante illud ipse accipiat licet. Christus enim a quo illud nobis porrigitur idem nos accipere iubet, &c. . . .

No. 198. The Council's Mandate for the abolition of Images and of the Mass, 27 Oct. 1523.

Whereas our Gracious Lords the Burgomaster, Council, and Great Council, last year, solely for the honour and praise of God and the salvation of Christian souls, summoned all their parish priests, curates, people's priests, and preachers, because of certain misunderstandings of the Word of God; and whereas of late . . . the aforesaid parish priests have been called together from town and country, and in the matter of two articles, Images and the Mass, have sought and found divine truth out of the clear Word of God:

Now therefore, in the matter of Images, it is, by our Lords aforesaid, forbidden to any one, spiritual or temporal, until further orders (which will shortly be given, if God will, out of the Word of God), to carry about or shift any Image in the church should he have set up some particular Image of his own therein. He may, however, take it into his own hands, if it should appear that nothing unadvisable should arise from his so doing. But, in the case of Images made by the parishioners or out of the church funds, no change shall, for the present, be made in respect of them, without the knowledge and consent of the parishioners.

As concerns the Mass, things shall, till further order and pending an explanation soon to come, remain as they are: and no one shall utter or allege anything thereon to his neighbour in any irritating or provocative words. And whosoever, in word or deed, shall behave himself unmannerly or disobediently, our Lords will punish him severely and according to the circumstances of the case. . . .

No. 199. The Council sends preachers* into the country districts.

From a Letter of Zwingli to Joachim von Watt, 11 Nov. 1523. Gratia et pax a Deo et D. N. I. C. Non est, doctissime Vadiane, quod tibi nunc gratias indefessi laboris nuper apud nos habiti¹ agam : ipse enim scis, unde merces tibi petenda sit, ab eo nimirum cuius negotium fideliter agebas. Quae post secuta sunt, accipe. Selegit Senatus de suo ordine iv, de Civium, ut vocant, ordine iv, ut cum Abbate de Capella,² Praeposito Imbriacensi,³ Commendatario ex Ksnaco,⁴ D. Engelhart,⁵ Leone,⁶ Zuinglio,⁶ consultant quonam pacto commode possit iniri ratio, ut Christi negotium feliciter promoveat. Visum est omnibus unanimi sententia brevem Isagogen per nos scribi qua ii, qui hactenus Christum vel ignorarunt vel aversati sunt episcopi, huc induci possint ut Christum praedicare ordiantur. Eaque ix die Nov. coram Senatu lecta placuit ; nunc cudi incipit. Additum est ut Abbas Capellae trans Alpes per ditionem urbis Christum praedicet, ubicumque visum erit ; Commendatarius Ksnaci, circum lacum et provinciam Grueningensem⁶ ; nos in eis provinciis quae ad Scaphusanos⁷ Durgiosque spectant,⁸ ne scilicet cuiusquam negligentia oves Christi verbo salutis fraudentur. Brevis post, quid de imaginibus statuendum sit, definient, ubi scilicet vulgus doctum erit : aequae de Missa. Interea imperatum consueta via incedere, nisi quod cuique privatas imagines auferre, citra tamen importunitatem, permissum est. Cum captivis summo iure actum est, quod quid sit ipse nosti. Attamen praeter rationem sic actum non est : non enim te fugit quosnam hominum vereri hac tempestate usus sit, non tam ob rem, quam ob Christi gloriam. Sunt enim qui evangelium Christi aversantur, ni paulisper ad infirmitatem eorum descendas. Horum causa existimo paulo constantius, ne dicam durius cum Laurentio Hochrütiner⁹ actum esse, viro hercle bono, sed quia ore hactenus liberiore fuit, arduae nimis punito. . . .

¹ As one of the presidents in the Second Disputation.

² Wolfgang Joner, Abbot of Cappel, 1519-†31.

³ Heinrich Brennwald, Provost of Embrach.

⁴ Conrad Schmid, Commander of the Teutonic Knights and Pastor at Küssnacht, †1531.

⁵ The three city pastors at Zürich.

⁶ Grueningen.

⁷ Schaffhausen.

⁸ Thurgau.

⁹ One of the iconoclasts who smashed the great crucifix at Stadellhofen, a suburb of Zürich. He was banished 4 Nov. 1532 (cf. Egli, *Aktenauslegung*, No. 442), and afterwards joined the Anabaptists.

No. 200. From Zwingli's 'Pastorum in evangelicam doctrinam Isagoge', 9 Nov. 1523.

De idolis vel imaginibus. . . . Ceterum luce clarius cernitur omnes eas, quas nos templis nostris intulimus, imagines idololatriæ et falsæ religionis occasionem præbuisse. Tollendæ ergo sunt in universum ubicunque locorum fuerint, vel in templis vel in foris, vel in viis publicis, vel etiam domi tuæ, si quem cultum illis tribui videamus. In primis vero e templis eiici et tolli debent, quum omnia ea quæ in his habentur nobis sanctiora esse soleant. Interim vero nemini vetamus quo minus historiarum gesta domi suæ exornationis vel delectationis, non autem cultus gratia depingi curet. Ut primum vero aliquis honor etiam illis tribui coeperit, iam et illa tolli convenit. Nam profecto negari nequit idolorum usum primam esse ad falsam religionem et peregrini Dei cultum occasionem; imo ipsa sunt a Deo summo coelesti Patre apostasia.

De Missa. . . . Iustus ergo et legitimus Coenæ administrandæ ritus hic est: Primum passionem et mortem Domini quotiescunque ecclesiæ visum fuerit prædicari convenit, ubi docendus est populus quantum boni et quanta salutis fiducia per eam nobis parta sit. Deinde quo firmior sit hominum in morte Domini fiducia, singulis qui modo expetunt, celeberrimum hoc corporis et sanguinis Iesu Christi sacramentum ministrandum erit. Atqui hæc quoque est ipsius Christi sententia quam simplicissime exposita. Quapropter quum videamus Missam nusquam a Christo peculiari quadam solemnitate institutam esse, sed ex hominum commentis sacrificii titulo fucatam prodiisse (sacramentum enim hoc nihil aliud est nisi corporis et sanguinis Christi perceptio), omnes huc incumbere debent ut impius ille et profanus rei tam sacrae abusus e medio tollatur, ne scilicet pro aliis immolare dicantur sacrifici. Ea autem modestia et prudentia hoc fieri volumus, ne qua tumultuandi et seditionum occasio detur. Non desunt enim commodæ ad eam rem rationes quibus omne hoc quicquid est facile transigi poterit. Concionatorum itaque erit publicam hanc et communem sacrificulorum turbam suis concionibus coram populo excusare. Nec enim par est, ut de illis poena sumatur qui non primi erroris huius auctores sunt. Deinde singulos moneant et hortentur ut eos in pace defungi et decedere patiantur. Maximus enim illorum numerus eo ætatis pervenit, ut nullis laboribus posthac exerceri possint. Nec

enim Christiani hominis est propter escam opus Dei destruere, Rom. xiv. 20. Quod si vero quosdam ex illorum numero invenire liceat, qui protervius sese renascenti fidei et religioni opposuerint, idque nullis omnino S. S. testimoniis instructi, iam et illos nullae privatorum hominum iniuriæ nullaque vis exagitare debet; sed potius magistratus imperio permittendi sunt, qui de illis pro rei et personæ ratione statuet. . .

VII

THE REFORMATION COMPLETED IN ZÜRICH,
1524-5

At the third and last Disputation, 19 Jan. 1524, the Council was advised that Canon Hoffmann and his friends had not made out their case from Holy Scripture (Egli, *Aktensammlung*, No. 483, § 6; Bullinger, *Reformationsgeschichte*, i, § 84). They therefore gave, 19 Jan., these [No. 201] men of the Old Learning their choice between submission and banishment (Egli, No. 489): but they waited till Whitsuntide to carry reform further. Zürich, as yet, stood alone in the Confederation; and had to meet a remonstrance, 24 Jan., of the Diet of Luzern (Bullinger, i, § 85) by, 21 March, a [No. 202] defence of its policy (*ibid.* § 93). Finding it safe, at length, to go on, the Council, on Whitsun Eve, 14 May, abolished (Egli, No. 527; Bullinger, i, § 97) the Whitsunday procession to Einsiedeln. Next, in view of the Bishop's vindication, 25 May, of Images and the Mass (*ibid.* i, § 94), they provided, 15 June (Egli, No. 545), that it should be dealt with by *A Christian answer of the Burgomaster and Council of Zürich* (*Zwinglii Opera*, i. 604 sqq.), mainly from Zwingli's pen. They then spent June in [No. 203] casting out organs and relics (Egli, No. 547; Bullinger, i, § 98), and 2-17 July (Egli, No. 552) in putting away images (Bullinger, i, § 103). On 5 Dec. (Egli, No. 598) they (No. 204) dissolved the Religious Houses (Bullinger, i, §§ 129, 130); and, at Zwingli's suggestion (*Opera*, II. ii. 327) devoted their revenues to education and to relief of the poor. By Christmas 1524 only the Mass remained. But in the *De vera et falsa religione Commentarius*, which he addressed to Francis I in March 1525, Zwingli delivered a final attack upon it (*Opera*, iii. 239): and, after representations, 11 April, from the three city pastors and others, the Council, by a small majority, decreed, 12 April, its abolition (Egli, No. 684). That day, Wednesday in Holy Week [No. 205] Mass was said for the last time in Zürich (*ibid.*). On Maundy Thursday, Good Friday, and Easter Day (Bullinger, i, § 147) its place was taken by the [No. 206] Action oder Bruch des Nachtmals (Daniel, *Codex Liturgicus*, iii. 145 sqq.; *Zwinglii*

Opera, II. ii. 233 sqq.) which Zwingli had already published, 6 April, and afterwards, July 1531, described to the Most Christian King in the appendix to his *Fidei Christianae Expositio* (*Opera*, iv. 74; Niemeyer, *Collectio Confessionum*, 72 sqq.). On 19 June the Choir Office gave way to Bible Readings (Bullinger, i, § 160) or [No. 207] **Propheesyings** (*ibid.* *ap.* *Zuīglīi Opera*, iv. 205). But the new order of things was ill received; and 26 March 1530 and 10 Aug. 1531 [No. 208] the Council had to enforce church-going by edict (*ibid.* Nos. 1656, 1780).

No. 201. The Council's treatment of the Old Learning, 19 Jan. 1524.

Whereas in the Disputation with the Canons H. Anshelm Graf, Konrad Hofmann, Rudolf Hofmann, M. Erhart Battmann, and H. Heinrich Nüscheler it turned out that 'they had done nothing', all five had to be brought up before the Burgomaster and Council for the execution of the mandates, sentences, and decisions issued. 'Otherwise let men believe as they will. If they do [as ordered], my Lords will be the more gracious to them. But if they do it not, and afterwards are found in the city and on their benefices, then they will be put out of their benefices and shown the way out of the city.'

No. 202. The Council's defence of its proceedings, 21 March 1524.

At the end of their answer they say, 'In all that is possible for us and to which we are bound, as becomes pious members of the Confederation, we shall be glad to comply with your requests, and to wait upon you according to our bounden duty. But in what concerns the Word of God, our souls' salvation and our consciences, we cannot give way. . . .'

No. 203. The putting down of relics and organs, June 1524.

At the Great Minster in Zürich were shrines called the shrines of the blessed martyrs Felix and Regula. And as the common people were for it, the bodies of the blessed martyrs were kept and buried therein. But the honourable Council and the Citizens also ordered at this time, in June, that they should be put thence and out of the church: and, should there be any corpses therein, they should be honourably and quietly interred, or secretly dispersed in the bone house. . . .

At this time also the magistrates at Zürich ordered that there should be no more playing of organs¹ in the city and in the churches; no ringing for the dead, and for and against the weather; no more blessing of palms, salt, water, and candles; and no more bringing to any one of the last baptism or extreme unction; but that all such superstitions should cease and be clean put away, inasmuch as they are all at variance with the clear word of God.

No. 204. The Dissolution of Religious Houses, 5 Dec. 1524.

The offer of the Abbess of our Lady's Minster, in respect of her surrender² of her convent, to set her hand and seal thereto, was accepted with thanks, and put into immediate execution. The Abbess was to remain in the Convent and 'to be sufficiently provided, all her life long, as her needs and her station should require. . .'

As regards the Convents of men, a document was drawn up and read generally before the Friars. The Friars of the Augustinian and of the Dominican House, if they would leave their Order³ and learn a trade, might have any possessions, which they brought in, given back to them: those who had no means were to be assisted out of the property of the Convent.

No. 205. The last Mass in Zürich, 12 April 1525.

On Wednesday in Holy Week the last Mass was celebrated in Zürich; and God's table was set up, and the Sacrament and the holy oil with other ornaments were taken out of the sacristies. All altars which were still in the churches were stripped bare; and all the week was no more singing nor reading, but all the books were taken out of the choir and destroyed. Yet what pleased one man well did not please his neighbour.

No. 206. Action oder Bruch des Nachtmals, 13 April 1525.

(i) *Zwingli's Preface*.—Whereas for a long time past it has been made sure and clear enough from the Word of God that

¹ The organ in the Great Minster was broken to pieces, 9 Dec. 1527, Bullinger, i, § 222.

² On 30 Nov. 1524 [cf. Egli, No. 595].

³ The rest were gathered and provided for in the Carmelite Convent, 3 Dec. 1524 (Bullinger, i, § 129).

Christ's Supper has been seriously misused, it is therefore necessary that everything that is not in accordance with the Word of God should be put away from it. And whereas this memorial is a thanksgiving and a rejoicing before Almighty God for the goodness which He has shown us through His Son, and whosoever appears at this feast, meal, or thanksgiving witnesses thereby that he is of those who believe that they are redeemed by the death and blood of our Lord Jesus Christ; therefore on Maundy Thursday the young people who now believe and have come to the knowledge of God and of His Word, and desire to begin this thanksgiving and supper, must betake themselves to the floor of the nave between the choir and the entrance, males to the right and females to the left, and the rest must remain in the aisles, the porch, and other places. As soon as the sermon is over, unleavened bread and wine shall first be placed upon a table on the floor of the nave, and then the ordinance and action of Christ, in accordance with His institution of this memorial, shall be recited openly and intelligibly, in German, as hereafter follows. Then the bread shall be carried round by the appointed ministers on large wooden trenchers from one seat to the next, and each shall break off a bit or a mouthful with his hand and eat it. Then they shall go round with the wine likewise; and no one shall move from his place. When that is done, in open and clear words praise and thanksgiving shall be offered to God in an audible and distinct voice; and then the whole multitude of the congregation shall say 'Amen' at the end. On Good Friday, people of middle life shall assemble in the place aforesaid on the floor of the nave, and the thanksgiving shall take place in like manner, men and women apart, as above. On Easter Day, the old folk likewise. The trenchers and beakers shall be of wood, that no pomp come back again. And this order, so long as it please our churches, we shall observe four times in the year, at Easter, Whitsuntide, autumn, and Christmas.

(ii) From the appendix to the *Fidei Christianae Expositio*,

1531.

Volo autem hic adiungere actionis formulam qua nos in celebranda Coena utimur, quo tua Maiestas videat, Christi nos verba non immutare, non vitare, non perversa sententia depravare; sed ea prorsus servare in Coena quae et in Missa servari debuerant, haec sunt preces, laudes, confessio fidei,

communicatio ecclesiae sive fidelium, et spiritalis sacramentalisque manducatio corporis Christi; contra vero universa omittere quae ex Christi instituto non sunt: puta, Offerimus efficaciter pro vivis et mortuis: Offerimus pro peccatorum remissione, et cetera quae Papistae non minus impie quam indocte adseverant.

Sequitur actio qua Tiguri et Bernae Basileae reliquisque Christianae civitatis urbibus, quantum ad substantiam pertinet, utimur.

Primo praedicatur satis longo sermone beneficium Dei quod nobis per Filium suum impendit, et trahitur populus ad eius rei cognitionem et gratiarum actionem. Eo finito, ponitur mensa ante chorum, ut vocant, pro gradibus, ea sternitur mantili, imponitur panis azymus et vinum in crateras funditur. Deinde prodit Pastor cum duobus ministris, qui omnes convertuntur ad populum, ita ut Pastor sive episcopus in medio illorum stet non alia veste quam quae vulgo usitata est honestis viris et ministris ecclesiae. Tunc sic orditur Pastor alta voce, lingua vero non Latina sed vulgari, quo omnes intelligant quod agitur

In nomine Patris et Filii et Spiritus sancti.

Respondent ministri nomine et loco totius ecclesiae, *Amen.*

Pastor: *Oremus.* Nunc genua flectit ecclesia.

Omnipotens aeternae Deus, quem iure universae creaturae colunt adorant et collaudant, suum videlicet artificem, creatorem ac patrem, da nobis miseris peccatoribus, ut eam laudem et gratiarum actionem quam unigenitus Filius tuus D. N. I. C. nobis ad faciendum instituit sincera fide peragamus. Per eundem D. N. I. C. &c. Amen.

Hic legit minister qui ad sinistram stat. *Quod iam legitur scriptum est in priore epistola Pauli ad Cor. xi. [20-29.]*

Tunc respondent ministri cum ecclesia: *Laus Deo.*

Pastor: *Gloria in excelsis Deo.* Diaconus¹: *Et in terra pax.* Hypodiaconus¹: *Hominibus sana et tranquilla mens.* Diaconus: *Laudamus Te, Benedicimus Te.* Et caetera usque ad finem huius hymni complentur alternis agentibus ministris, versum pro versu, ecclesia omnia intelligente, et prius admonita ut quisque secum quae dicuntur in pectore loquatur ac reputet, in conspectu Dei et ecclesiae.

Diaconus dicit: *Dominus vobiscum.* Respondent ministri: *Et cum spiritu tuo.*

¹ Men and women alternately: in the German *Action*, &c. [Daniel iii. 150] at Zürich.

Diaconus: *Quae iam leguntur in Ioannis Evangelio scripta sunt capite sexto.* Respondetur: *Gloria tibi, Domine.*

Diaconus: *Sic locutus est Iesus: Amen, amen dico vobis, qui credit in me habet vitam aeternam. Ego sum panis vitae. Patres vestri comederunt manna, et cetera usque ad hunc finem, verba quae vobis loquor spiritus et vita sunt* [Io. vi. 47-63].

Post quae verba minister librum osculatur et dicit Pastor: *Deo gloria, qui iuxta verbum suum dignetur nobis remittere universa peccata nostra.* Respondent ministri: *Amen.*

Pastor: *Credo in unum Deum.* Diaconus: *Patrem omnipotentem creatorem coeli et terrae.* Hypodiaconus: *Et in Iesum Christum, etc., usque ad finem symboli quod apostolicum vocant, quod perinde alternis vicibus recensent ministri alta voce atque prius hymnum Gloria in excelsis.*

Pastoris invitatio ad Coenam digne celebrandam: *Iam volumus, carissimi fratres, iuxta ritum et institutionem D. N. I. C. hunc panem edere et hunc potum bibere, quae sic praecepit fieri in commemorationem, in laudem et gratiarum actionem huius quod mortem pro nobis passus est, quodque sanguinem suum ad ablucendum peccata nostra effudit. Quocirca probet et interroget quisque seipsum iuxta verbum Pauli qualem fiduciam ac certitudinem in D. N. I. C. habeat, ne se quisquam pro fideli gerat qui tamen fidem non habeat, et sic reus fiat mortis Domini. Neque totam ecclesiam Christi (quae illius corpus est) contemnat et subinde in eam peccet. Proinde in genua vos dimittite et orate, Pater noster qui es in coelis etc. et caetera usque ad finem. Et cum ministri responderint: Amen, iterum oret Pastor.*

Oratio: *Domine Deus omnipotens, qui nos per Spiritum tuum in unitate fidei in unum corpus tuum coagmentavisti, cui corpori tuo praecepisti ut laudes et gratias tibi agant pro ea liberalitate ac beneficio quod unigenitum Filium tuum D. N. I. C. pro peccatis nostris in mortem tradidisti, da ut hoc tuum praeceptum ea fide impleamus ne te infallibilem veritatem ulla mendaci simulatione offendamus aut irriteremus. Da quoque ut tam sancte vivamus atque tuum corpus, tuos filios familiamque tuam decet. Quo increduli quoque nomen et gloriam tuam agnoscere, discant. Custodi nos, Domine, ne nomen et gloria tua propter vitae nostrae pravitatem in contumeliam rapiatur. Semper oramus, Domine auge nobis fidem, hoc est indubitatam fiduciam in Te. Tu qui vivis ac regnas, Deus in saecula.* Respondent: *Amen.*

Deinde sic agit et verba sacra simul effatur Pastor:

Dominus Iesus, ea nocte qua tradebatur ad mortem, accepit

panem, hic accipit Pastor panem azymum in manus, cumque gratias egit, fregit ac dixit, Accipite, comedite: Hoc est corpus meum quod pro vobis traditur. Hoc facile ad commemorationem meam. Hic simul praebet Pastor panem ministris qui circum mensam stant, qui protinus cum reverentia illum accipiunt et inter se dividunt ac comedunt. Dum interim Pastor pergit: Similiter, postquam facta fuit coena, accepit et poculum. Hic simul accipit Pastor poculum in manus, gratias egit ac dixit, Bibite ex isto omnes, hic calix novum Testamentum in meo sanguine est. Quotiescunque istud facturi estis, facite ad meam commemorationem. Quotiescunque enim panem hunc comedetis, et de poculo isto bibetis, mortem Domini praedicabitis, laudabitis, et gratias agetis, usquedum veniat.

Post haec circumferunt ministri azymum panem et accipit quisque sua manu particulam de exhibito pane et postea reliquam partem praebet proximo suo. Et si quis non vult panem sua manu contrectare, iam circumferens minister porrigit ei. Deinde sequuntur ministri cum crateribus et praebet alius alii poculum Dominicum. Ne abhorreat tua Maiestas ab isto accipiendi praebendique more, nam deprehensum est saepenumero quod quidam qui temere consederant, qui tamen similitudines ac odia prius inter se exercuissent, ex hac participatione sive panis sive potus animi impotentiam deposuerunt.

Iterum legit de suggesto alius minister ex Evangelio Ioannis aliquosque, dum editur ac bibitur sacramentum corporis et sanguinis Domini, incipit autem a tredecimo capite. Cumque crateres omnes sunt reportati, tunc sic infit Pastor: *Procurambite in genua.* Nam sedentes et tacite auscultantes verbo Domini edimus et bibimus Coenae sacramentum. Cumque omnes procurambunt infit, inquam, Pastor:

Laudate pueri Dominum, Laudate nomen Domini. Diaconus: Sit nomen Domini benedictum ex hoc nunc et usque in saeculum. Hypodiaconus: A solis ortu usque ad occasum, etc. Et sic iterum alternis vicibus finiunt ministri hunc psalmum [cxiii], quem Hebraei perhibent a maioribus suis dici solitum a mensa.

Post ista adhortatur Pastor ecclesiam his verbis:

Memores sitis, fratres carissimi, quidnam iuxta Christi iussum iam simul gesserimus. Testati sumus enim ista gratiarum actione quam ex fide peregrinamus, nos miseros quidem esse peccatores sed mundatos corpore et sanguine Christi quae pro nobis tradidit et effudit, sed et redemptos a morte sempiterna. Testati sumus nos fratres esse: id ergo praestemus caritate,

fide et officio mutuo. Oremus ergo Dominum ut amaram eius mortem sic alto pectore teneamus ut quotidie peccatis quidem moriamur, omnibus autem virtutibus sic fulciamur ac crescamus, gratia et munere Spiritus eius, ut nomen Domini in nobis sanctificetur, proximus autem ametur et iuvetur. Dominus misereatur nostri et benedicat nobis, illuminet vultum suum super nos et misereatur nostri, Amen. Oratio. Pastorem iterum orat: Gratias agimus tibi, Domine, pro universis donis ac beneficiis tuis, qui vivis ac regnas Deus per omnia saecula saeculorum, Amen.

Pastor: *Ite in pace, Amen.*

Deinde digreditur ecclesia.

No. 207. The Prophecyings.

Brevibus enarrabimus quem ordinem in linguis et prophetia observet, restauratore felicitis memoriae H. Zuinglio, ecclesia Tigurina. In primis exturbavit illa Horas, quas vocant Canonicas, cantum quoque linguae peregrinae et theatricam obstreperamque musicam: non quod sacra displiceat lectio aut oratio, illas enim unice restitutas cupit: sed quod plurima in publico coetu cantata ac recitata sunt, quae dogmatis fidei Christianae erant adversa, item quae erant superstitiosa et ad quaestum tantum instituta: denique quod illa quoque, quae ex sacris lecta sunt Bibliis, isto prorsus modo abusuque lecta sunt, quo sciolos Corinthiorum sacra in coetu sancto legisse constat. Omnia itaque semel exturbata sunt, sed in eorum locum utiliora haec reposita.

Principio, quotidie convenitur exoriente sole ad preces et conciones publicas, in quibus et Deus oratur pro his quae temporis ratio ecclesiam orare iubet, et traditur pietas proposito aliquo ex Scripturis loco, qui et vulgari lingua absque omni linguarum involucro explicatur.

Deinde vero, quod linguas ac prophetiam attinet abstrusiori, ea hora qua prius canebantur Horae Canonicae, nunc quotidie coit coetus doctorum maxime. In eo autem tractantur summa cum diligentia ac reverentia libri Veteris Testamenti. Novi enim Testamenti opuscula indies pro publicis exponuntur concionibus.¹ Ceterum nihil hic temere aut confuse peragitur. Series cum librorum tum capitum observatur, neque aliud incipitur nisi praecedens absolutum sit: immo ne plura quidem

¹ By Oswald Myconius, at 3 p.m., in Our Lady's Minster.

praeleguntur quam quae summo cum otio et accurata diligentia proque dignitate rerum et auditorum utilitate explanari queant.

Porro a sacris precibus hic coetus sumit initium. Precantur enim omnes communibus votis omnipotentem et misericordem Deum, cuius verbum lucerna est pedibus nostris et lumen semitarum nostrarum, aperiatur et illuminet mentem nostram, ut oracula sua pure et sancte intelligamus, et in illud quod recte intellexerimus transformemur, quo maiestati eius nulla ex parte displiceamus, per C. D. N.

Peractis precibus, praelegit adolescens stipendiarius ecclesiae iuxta Vulgatam quam Hieronymi vocant editionem eum locum, ad quem prophetae cursu et ordine devenire interpretandum. Stipendio enim ex aerario ecclesiastico aluntur egregia et bonae spei ingenia, atque in artibus, linguis, et litteris sanctis instituuntur, ut aliquando ecclesiae unde aluntur rependant ac plurimum sanctis ministeriis prosint. . . . Ubi vero adolescens eum qui tractandus venit locum Latina lingua recitavit, assurgit lector Hebraeus ac Hebraea lingua eundem locum recenset, sparsim eius linguae idiotismos proprietatesque indicans, iam sensum etiam reddens, aliquoties verbum verbo interpretans sed et Grammaticorum et Rabbiorum recitans sententias. Hoc muneris pridem Ceporinus,¹ nunc summa cum diligentia, eruditione et pietate obit D. Conradus Pellicanus Rubeaquiensis,² vir de linguis, pietate ac litteris optime meritus. Hebraeo succedit lector Graecus, hic Septuaginta interpretum aut quorumcunque tandem sit, versionem Graecam percurrit, cum Hebraeo confert, et quatenus ab illo discrepet ostendit, aliquoties et restituit, ubique advigilat accurate. Hanc provinciam obiit, quoad vixit, ipse Zuinglius. Hac collatione facta versioneque Graecorum interpretata, demum prophetae officio fungitur, qui hactenus praestitit interpretem. Ea enim quae iam Latine, Graece et Hebraice lecta sunt, omni diligentia et summa fide enarrat, indicans quomodo praesens ille locus a priscis sit tractatus scriptoribus, quid de eo senserint Iudaeorum interpretes, quid Catholici, quid verbis sacris consentaneum, quae verborum cohaesio, structura et vis, quae sententiarum maiestas et proprietas, vis et elegantia, quo omnia referenda: breviter quis genuinus sensus, item quis usus et fructus huius loci, quomodo ex eo fides, pietas, sanctimonia, iustitia et constantia discenda sit. . . .

Hactenus vero aedificantur linguis et prophetia docti, et qui

¹ Jakob von Wisendangen, Prof. of Hebrew at Zürich, 1525-†6.

² Konrad Kirschner, of Ruffach in Elsass, 1478-†1556, his successor.

Latinae linguae periti sunt. Omnia enim ista Latina peraguntur lingua. Proinde ut ad totam quoque ecclesiam, ad ipsum, inquam, populum promiscuum aliqua redeat utilitas eundem illum locum, quem hactenus tractarunt sacri interpretes et prophetae, pro publica concione plebi exponunt episcopi, proponentes plebi ea quae aedificationis sunt, consolationis et exhortationis. Interim autem, dum sacra ad hunc modum a prophetis interpretibus et episcopis tractantur, tota ecclesia sedet, omnia quae dicuntur diiudicans, id est, tacite apud se expendens, quo pertineant omnia, quis eorum usus ac fructus.¹

No. 208. The Council's mandate for Church-going, 10 Aug. 1531.

Whereas the mandate for Church-going put out last year [26 March], 1530, has been badly observed; and people, young and old, men and women, idly wander about hither and thither during sermon-time, on the bridges, down the alleys, by the gates and alongside the moats; therefore our Lords order all persons who have concern and oversight in this matter of church-going and particularly, since need requires it, such as ought always to go from time to time, and hereby earnestly command that every man shall strictly observe the mandate to go to Church on Sundays and Holy-days. And that no man may be able to fraudulently say that he went to another church, it is provided that henceforth the preachers in all the three churches shall begin to preach at one and the same time, convenient to all.

Our Lords further give notice hereby to the numbers of those who are free and well-off that on work-days they frequent the prayers and preaching more diligently and better. They have ordered, and it will henceforth be the rule, that the morning sermon shall take place every day, as hitherto, and that at 8 a.m. for half-an-hour there shall be a discourse and prayer.

* * * * *

VIII

THE ANABAPTISTS IN ZÜRICH, 1525-32

The new order had not yet been set up when, 28 Oct. 1523, at the Second Disputation, a radical party made its appearance:

¹ Similar 'Prophesyings' were held at Bern and at Basel. They were the sources of the Reformers' commentaries, and of the Puritan 'prophesyings' in England: for which see G. W. Prothero, *Statutes and Documents*, 1559-1625, 202 sqq.

(*Zwinglii Opera*, i. 539: *supra*, No. 197). They* were led by Conrad Grebel, †1526, and Felix Manz, †1527, both Zürichers, and by Balthasar Hübmaier, 1480-†1528, pastor of Waldshut. Their aim was to apply consistently the principle which governed the official reforms, and admit nothing without explicit warrant of Scripture. The baptism of infants has no such warrant; as, on 1 May 1523 [No. 209] Zwingli admitted to Hübmaier (Füsslin, *Beiträge*, i. 252 sq.; cf. *Zwinglii Opera*, i. 260). By 5 Sept. 1524, when Grebel and his friends were in correspondence with the revolutionary but never Anabaptist Thomas Münzer, 1490-†1525, now near Waldshut, they were 'not twenty' in number (Cornelius, *Geschichte des Münsterischen Aufstuhrs*, ii. 248). But they stood to [No. 210] **their opinions** (*ibid.* 245; and *Zwinglii Opera*, II. i. 338 sq.) so boldly that, after, 17 Jan. 1525, an abortive disputation (Bullinger, i, § 135), on 18 Jan. [No. 211] **the Council** ordered infant baptism and silenced their leaders (Egli, Nos. 622, 624). Then began [No. 212] **Anabaptism** by sprinkling or by pouring before 7 Feb., at Zollikon¹ (*ibid.* No. 636, §§ 1, 2): afterwards, by immersion (Kessler, *Sabbata*, i. 262) near Schaffhausen: then, Easter 1525, at Waldshut (Egli, No. 911, § 4). On 20 March there was a second disputation (*ibid.* No. 668); and 'fourteen men and seven women' were thrown into the Witches' Tower... to see if it were possible to turn them from their error' (Bullinger, i, § 145). But, 5 April, they escaped (Egli, No. 691). At last, after, 6 Nov., a third disputation (*ibid.* No. 853; Bullinger, i, § 163) had proved ineffectual, on 7 March 1526 [No. 213] **the Council** decreed, as if to suit the penalty to the crime, that **Anabaptists** should be drowned (Egli, No. 936; *Zwinglii Opera*, vii. 477). Manz was the first so to suffer, 5 Jan. 1527 (Egli, No. 1109); two countrymen, 23 March 1532, the last (*ibid.* No. 1829). Meanwhile, a literary warfare broke out. In the treatise of 27 May 1525 *On baptism, anabaptism, and infant baptism* (*Opera*, II. i. 230 sqq.), there occurs [No. 214] Zwingli's statement of his position (*Opera*, tr. R. Gualther, ii. 97 b). Hübmaier replied, 11 July, with *The Christian baptism of Believers* (see a summary of its argument in Vedder, *Ball. Hübmaier*, 114 sq.). And the controversy closed with, 31 July 1531, the *Refutation of the tricks of the Catabaptists* (*Opera*, iii. 357 sqq., tr. Jackson, *Selections from Zwingli*, 123 sqq.), where [No. 215] Zwingli gives his account of the movement (*Opera*, iii. 363 sq.).

No. 209. Hübmaier's evidence, 1525, upon Zwingli's admissions, 1 May 1523.

In 1523, on Philip and James' day, I conferred with you [Zwingli] in Graben street upon the Scriptures relating to Baptism. Then and there you said I was right in saying that children should not be baptized before they were instructed in

¹ 'Ad quintam ab urbe [Zürich] lapidem,' *Zwinglii Opera*, iii. 365.

the faith; this had been the custom previously, therefore such [persons under instruction] were called catechumens. You promised to bring this out in your Exposition of the Articles, as you did in the XVIIIth Article, on Confirmation. Any one who reads it will find therein your opinion clearly expressed. Sebastian Ruckensperger of St. Gall, then prior of Sion at Klingnau, was present. So you have also confessed in your book upon the unruly spirits, that those who baptized infants could quote no clear word in Scripture ordering them to baptize them. From this learn, friend Zwingli, how your conversation, writing, and preaching agree.

NO. 210. The opinions of Grebel and Hübmaier.

(i) From a *letter of Grebel to Münzer*, 5 Sept. 1524. We believe . . . that all children who have not yet come to know the difference between good and evil . . . are saved by the sufferings of Christ, the new Adam. . . . Also that infant baptism is a silly blasphemous outrage, contrary to all Scripture. . . . Since . . . you have published your protestations against infant baptism, we hope you do not act against the eternal Word, wisdom, and command of God, according to which only believers should be baptized, and that you baptize no children.¹

(ii) From a *letter of Hübmaier to Oecolampadius*, 16 Jan. 1525.

We have publicly taught that children should not be baptized. Why do we baptize children? Baptism, say they [Zwingli and Leo], is a mere sign. Why do we strive so much over a sign? The meaning of this sign and symbol, the pledge of faith until death in hope of the resurrection to the life to come, is more to be considered than the sign. This meaning has nothing to do with babes; therefore infant baptism is without reality. In Baptism a man pledges himself to God; in the Supper to his neighbour, to offer body and blood in his stead, as Christ for us. I believe, yea, I know, that it will not go well with Christendom until Baptism and the Supper are brought back to their own original purity. Here, brother, you have my opinion; if I err, call me back. For I wish nothing so much that I will not revoke it, yea, cut it off, when I am

¹ According to his statement to Oecolampadius, Münzer did baptize infants; he does not appear to have ever reached the point of becoming an Anabaptist. Cf. Herzog, *Das Leben Jo. Oekolampads*, i. 302.

taught better from the Word of God by you and yours. Otherwise, I abide by my opinion; for to that I am constrained by the command of Christ, the Word, faith, truth, judgement, conscience. Testify to the truth; you can in no way offend me. I am a man, and can fall, since that is human, but from my heart I desire to rise again. Write me whether the promise in Matt. xix. 14, 'Suffer little children to come unto me,' &c., specially belongs to infants. What prompts me to that is the word of Christ, 'for of such is the kingdom of heaven,' not 'of them'. I have sent letters to Zwingli by the captain of our volunteers. Instead of baptism, I cause the church to come together, bring the infant in, explain in German the Gospel, 'They brought little children, &c.,' then a name is given him, the whole church prays for the child on bended knees and commends him to Christ that He will be gracious and intercede for him. But if the parents are still weak, and positively wish that the child be baptized, then I baptize it; and I am weak with the weak, for the time being, until they are better instructed. As to the Word, however, I do not yield to them in the least point. . . .'

No. 211. The Council orders infant baptism, and silence, Jan. 1525.

Jan. 18.—Whereas an error has arisen respecting baptism, as if young children should not be baptized until they come to years of discretion and know what the faith is: and whereas some have accordingly neglected to have their children baptized, our Lords the Burgomaster, Council, and Great Council, have had a disputation held about this matter to learn what Holy Scripture has to say about it. As they have learned from it that, notwithstanding this error, children should be baptized as soon as they are born, all those therefore who have hitherto allowed their children to remain unbaptized, must have them baptized within the next week: and whosoever will not do this, must with wife and child, goods and chattels, leave our city, jurisdiction, and dominions, or await what will be done with him. Every one will accordingly know how to conduct himself. . . .

Jan. 21.—(1) To the preceding resolution (Egli, No. 621) about Baptism, it is now added that 'the special disputations arranged to deal with such matters' are to be put away: in particular, Conrad Grebel and Felix Manz are to abstain from

'disputings and propositions' and 'to fall in with my Lords' opinions', because hereafter no further disputation is to take place. If, however, they wish for any exception in the matter of belief, they may apply to the Burgomaster or to the three Overseers.

(2) Moreover, in order that there may be the more peace from such folk, it is further resolved that the following shall abjure my Lords' dominions, viz. the priest (William Roubli) of Wytikon, the assistant-curate (Brötli) of Zollikon, Ludwig Hetzer, and Andrew [Castelberger] uf der Stützen; and leave the country within a week.

No. 212. Anabaptism begins, 7 Feb. 1525.

(i) *From [I] the Confession of fourteen imprisoned anabaptists of Zollikon.*— . . . They admitted that they had been baptized, and had become 'servants, bondmen, and subjects of God'; they would do whatever the Spirit of God prompted them, and not suffer themselves to be forced therefrom by any temporal magistrate. So far as they were not hindered by the Word of God, they would be my Lords' subjects. [II] . . . § 2. Rudolph Thomunn, of Zollikon, deposed that he had eaten the Last Supper with the old assistant-curate [Brötli?] and the [parson] of Wytikon [William Roubli], and had invited them to his house. . . . There many had assembled, so that the room was full; there was much speaking and long readings. Then stood up Hans Bruggbach of Zumikon, weeping and crying out that he was a great sinner, and asking them to pray God for him. Whereupon Blaurock¹ asked him if he desired the grace of God. 'Yes,' said he. Manz then stood up and said, 'Who will hinder me from baptizing him?' Blaurock answered, 'Nobody.' So [Manz] took a bowl² of water and baptized him in the name of God the Father, God the Son, and God the Holy Ghost. Whereupon James Hottinger stood up and desired baptism; and Felix Manz baptized him also. . . . Seeing the loaf on the table, Blaurock said, 'Whosoever believes that God has redeemed him by His death and rosy-coloured blood . . . comes and eats with me from this loaf and drinks with me of this wine.' Then several ate and drank thereof.

¹ George Blaurock, formerly a Religious at Chur, scourged and expelled from Zürich, 5 Jan. 1527 (cf. Egli, § 1110), and burnt at Clausen in the Tyrol, 1529.

² A previous witness had said that Blaurock had 'sprinkled' [*besspritzt*] Bruggbach.—Egli, No. 636, II, § 2.

(ii) From Kessler, *Sabbata*.—Wolfgang Uolimann met Conrad Grebel on the way to Schaffhausen, and by him was so highly instructed in anabaptism that he would not simply have water poured upon him from a dish but, entirely naked, was thrust down and covered over in the Rhine.

(iii) *Fragment of the trial of Dr. Hübmaier of Waldshut*.—He [Hübmaier] said, moreover, that William Röubli of Wytikon it was who introduced baptism; then how, when he was at Waldshut, he came to him, and informed him for what God was preparing him. William had brought several citizens with him: and went with them to a hamlet over yonder, and baptized them. Afterwards they came to him and said, Why did not he also take the thing in hand? But he declined and put the matter off till Easter; and, as the custom was then to hallow the font, he omitted it. Then came William and baptized him; and sixty persons were baptized at the same time with him. Afterwards, during Easter, he himself baptized some three hundred people. . . .

No. 213. The Council orders Anabaptists to be drowned, 7 March 1526.

(i) *From their mandate 'to be published on Sunday in the three parishes'* [Egli, p. 445].—Whereas our Lords the Burgo-master, Council, and Great Council, have for some time past earnestly endeavoured to turn the misguided and erring Anabaptists from their errors; and yet several . . . to the injury of the public authority and the magistrates as well as to the ruin of the common welfare and of right Christian living, have proved disobedient; and several of them, men, women, and girls, have been by our Lords sharply punished and put into prison: Now therefore, by the earnest commandment, edict, and warning of our Lords aforesaid, it is ordered that no one in our town, country, or domains, whether man, woman, or girl, shall baptize another: and if any one hereafter shall baptize another, he will be seized by our Lords and, according to the decree now set forth, will be drowned without mercy. Wherefore every one knows how to order himself, and to take care that he bring not his own death upon himself.

(ii) *From a letter of Zwingli to Joachim Watt, 7 March, 1526.*

Est, honoratissime Consul, hoc ipso die per Senatum *Δικαστήριον* decretum ut Catabaptistarum¹ coryphaei in eam

¹ A term of contempt = drowners.

turrin, in qua prius delituerunt, conieiantur, pane et aqua delicientur, donec aut spiritum reddant aut manus. Additum quoque, ut qui posthac tingatur, prorsus mergatur, lata iam sententia. Sic tandem tentata satis patientia erumpit. Socer¹ Senatus misericordiam nequicquam imploravit. Mihi vehementer incorrigibilis hominum audacia tum dolet, tum displicet. Nollem crepundia renascentis Christianismi huiusmodi exemplis inaugurari; sed Deus non sumus cui sic placet futuris malis prospicere, ut olim quum Petro mentientem Ananiam subita atroque morte trucidavit, quo nobis fallendi audaciam omnem qui tamen nullius rei aequae gnari sumus, amputaret. . . .

No. 214. From Zwingli's *De Baptismo*, 27 May 1525.

. . . Caeterum ne quis operis nostri prolixam et molestam tractationem merito reprehendere possit . . . universam omnium eorum quae hactenus dicta sunt summam in breves hasce propositiones redigere libuit.

De Baptismo.

Animam hominis nullum huius mundi elementum, nulla denique res externa mundare potest. Huius enim purificatio solius gratiae divinae opus est. Baptismus ergo peccatorum sordes ablueri nequit.

Quoniam vero hic a Deo quidem institutus est, peccata tamen non abluit, constat omnino hunc non aliud quam signum esse sacramentale, quo Dei populus in unam fidem et religionem obstringitur simul et colligatur.

De Baptismo Parvulorum.

Quemadmodum in V. T. fidelium liberi inter Dei populum censebantur; ita nunc quoque Christianorum liberi, non minus quam ipsi parentes, Dei sunt. Quis ergo prohibebit quo minus aqua baptizentur quos iam ante Dei esse constat?

Circumcisio, si externi signi rationem et usum consideres, idem omnino veteribus fuit olim quod nobis Baptismus est. Ut ergo infantes olim iussu divino circumcisi sunt, ita Baptismus hodie quoque parvulis et infantibus conferri debet.

De Anabaptismo.

Anabaptismus nusquam in Scripturis praecepto et iussu divino traditur, exemplum quo niti possit nullum extat, nec ullis divini Verbi testimoniis probari potest. Quotquot ergo

¹ James Grebel, father of Conrad Grebel and father-in-law of Joachim Watt.

rebaptizantur, Christum denuo crucifigunt, vel contumaci et perversa animorum pertinacia vel rerum novandarum studio commoti.

Propositiones has, firmis et indubitatis rationibus e sacrae Scripturae scrinio depromptis, sic demonstrabo firmaboque ut nemo mortalium se illis opponere possit. Hoc itaque adversariis nostris de nobis certum et indubitatum sit, quod nec illorum protervitati cessurus, nec ut errores hi in ecclesia sparsi excrescant, quoad vixero unquam permissurus sum. Certo enim novi infinita esse commoda et fructus innumeros qui ex parvulorum baptismo ad Christianum populum redire solent. Praeterea firmiter credo Deum omnipotentem nunquam admissurum, ut hoc sublato anabaptismus introducatur. . . .

**No. 215. From Zwingli's 'In Catabaptistarum
strophas Elenchus', 31 July 1531.**

. . . Baptismum infantium miris proscindunt modis, summam abominationem, ex cacodaemone Pontificeque Romano esse. Occurrimus propere et huic incursioni amicam pollicemur collationem. Conditur ad quemque diem Martis per singulas hebdomades conveniendum esse. Prima congressione pugna fuit acris . . . Secunda acrior: quidam enim ex eis quum Scripturis nihil possent, apertis contumeliis rem tentant. Post multam conflictationem quum se inferiores viderent, et nos eos amice dehortaremur, sic discessum est ut plerique ex iis promitterent se nihil moturos; etiam si non pollicerentur se cessuros esse sententia. Intra triduum aut ad summum quadriduum nunciatur eos qui huius sectae coryphaei fuerunt quindecim fratres tinxisse. Ibi primum sentiscere coepimus cuius causa et novam ecclesiam colligere institerint et infantium baptismum tantopere oppugnaverint. Monemus ergo ecclesiam, factum istud defendi non posse, ut bono consilio, nedum bono spiritu coeptum sit. His potissimum causis: tentavisse ipsos ecclesiae divisionem ac partitionem, quod perinde ad hypocrisin pertineat atque monachorum superstitio. Secundo: quum ecclesiis suum arbitrium de doctrina iudicanda illibatum sit servandum, orsos esse catabaptismum citra omnem collationem; nihil enim per omnem de infantium baptismo pugnam de catabaptismo proposuisse. Tertio: videri hunc catabaptismum seditiosorum hominum esse veluti tesseram. Protinus; ut haec resciscunt, magnis examinibus in urbem advolant, posita zona, salice aut reste cincti, in foro atque triviis, ut ipsi iactabant,

prophetantes. De antiquo dracone, quem me volebant, deque eius capitibus, quibus reliquos verbi symmystas, omnia implebant. Iustitiam atque innocentiam omnibus commendabant, ab eis peregre nimirum profecturi: communia se habere iam omnia et gloriabantur et aliis, ni idem fecerint, ultima comminabantur. Per plateas Vae, Vae portentose, Vae Tiguro clamabant. Quidam Ionam imitati adhuc quadraginta dierum inducias urbi dabant. Quid multa? . . . Prosequuntur catapbaptismum suum invito Senatu populoque. . . . Indicitur tandem congressio¹, qua quisque ad satietatem seorsim audiretur. . . . Datur denuo pugnandi copia.² . . . Decevit autem clarissimus Senatus post eam collationem, quae nimirum decima fuit post alias sive publicas sive privatas, aquis mergere qui merserit baptismo eum qui prius emererat.³ . . .

IX

REFORM IN THE REST OF GERMAN SWITZER-
LAND TO 1529

Alarmed at the progress alike of democracy (cf. *Zuinglii Opera*, vii. 485) and of religious innovation at Zürich, the Catholic Cantons accepted, 3 Oct. 1524, an offer, 13 August, from Eck to 'maintain with ease against Zwingli that the old true Christian beliefs and practices were according, and not contrary, to Holy Scripture' (*ibid.* II. ii. 399 sqq.). Zwingli declined the challenge, 21 April 1526 (*ibid.* II. ii. 424). But at the Disputation of Baden, 21 May to 8 June, 1526 (Bullinger, I, §§ 185 sqq.), it was taken up by the reformers of Basel and Bern; by Jo. Oecolampadius, 1482-†1531, since 24 Feb. 1525 parish priest of St. Martin's, Basel (Herzog, *Das Leben Jo. Oekolampadi*, i. 284) and by Berchthold Haller, 1492-†1536, who since 1520 had been Canon of Bern. [No. 216] Eck's *Theses* (Bullinger, i, § 189) give the points under discussion: and victory for the moment declared for his side by 82 votes to 10. But in 1527 the democratic and reforming party got the upper hand in Bern (Ranke, *Ref.* 530); and at the Disputation of Bern, 7-26 Jan. 1528 (*Zuinglii Opera*, II. i. 63 sqq.: Bullinger, i, § 226) the situation was reversed. [No. 217] The *Theses Bernenses* (Niemeyer, *Collectio Confessionum*, 15) contain the reformed theology; and were presently embodied in the edict, 7 Feb. 1528, which repudiated the episcopal jurisdiction and enforced the Reformation in Bern (Richter, *Kirchenordnungen*, i. 104 sqq.; Bullinger, i, § 230). In [No. 218] the letter of an eyewitness, 29 Jan. 1528, Jacobus Monasteriensis (Moutier-Grandval), from

¹ 17 Jan. 1525.² 20 March 1525.³ 7 March 1526.

Solothurn, the old religion confesses its defeat (*Sculteti Annales Evangelii*, 124, *ap.* Von der Hardt, *Historia Literaria Reformationis*, Francfurti et Lipsiae, 1717). Next year Basel followed suit; for democracy was also gaining ground there (*Ranke, Ref.* 531). On Shrove Tuesday, 9 Feb. 1529, a revolution took place, followed, on Ash Wednesday, by [No. 219] **Image-breaking**, and on 12 Feb. by the abolition of the Mass. Accounts remain in letters of Oecolampadius, 13 Feb. (*Sculteti Annales Evangelii*, 136 sq.) and of Erasmus, 9 May (Ep. MXLVIII: *Opera*, III. ii. 1188, Lugd. Bat. 1703). On 1 April reconstruction began with a mandate from the Council (Richter, *Kirchenordnungen*, i. 120 sqq.; Bullinger, ii, § 275). It set up a new order, conservative in such points as daily service and weekly Communion; articles of faith, embodied later, 1534, in the *Confessio Basiliensis* I (Niemeyer, 87); and a code of discipline afterwards enforced by the Ban, 1530.

Thus, by 1529, reform had taken root in six out of the thirteen Cantons, in Appenzell 1523, Glarus 1528, and Schaffhausen 1529, as well as in the cities of Zürich, Bern, and Basel. But it had also gained a footing in the sister Confederation of the Graubünden, 1526; in the districts, 'allied,' e.g. Toggenburg, 1524, and St. Gall, 1527, and 'subject', e.g. Thurgau 1529; as well as in Mühlhausen 1524, Biel 1525, and Constance 1527. As in Germany after the Diet of Nürnberg 1520, the unity of the nation was destroyed.

No. 216. Eck's Theses at the Disputation of Baden, 21 May to 8 June 1526.

1. The true Body of Christ and his Blood are present in the Sacrament of the Altar.
2. They are also truly offered in the Mass for the quick and the dead.
3. Mary and the Saints are to be invoked as Intercessors.
4. Images of the Lord Jesus and of the Saints are not to be done away.
5. After this life there is a Purgatory.
6. The children of Christians are born in Original Sin.
7. The baptism of Christ, but not of John, removes Original Sin.

No. 217. The Theses Bernenses, 6 Jan. 1528.

De sequentibus conclusionibus nos Franciscus Kolb et Berchtoldus Haller, ambo pastores Ecclesiae Bernensis, simul cum aliis orthodoxiae professoribus uniuersique rationem reddemus, ex scriptis Biblicis, V. nimirum et N. Testamenti libris, die designato, nimirum primo post Dominicam primam Circumcisionis, anno MDXXVIII.

1. Sancta Christiana Ecclesia, cuius unicum caput est Christus, nata est ex Dei verbo, in eoque permanet, nec vocem audit alieni.

2. Ecclesia Christi non condit leges et mandata extra Dei verbum, ea propter omnes traditiones humanae, quas Ecclesiasticas vocant, non ulterius nos obligant quam quatenus in Dei verbo sunt fundatae et praeceptae.

3. Christus est unica sapientia, iustitia, redemptio et satisfactio pro peccatis totius mundi; idcirco aliud salutis et satisfactionis meritum pro peccato confiteri est Christum abnegare.

4. Quod corpus et sanguis Christi essentialiter et corporaliter in pane Eucharistiae percipiatur, ex Scriptura Sacra non potest demonstrari.

5. Missa, ut hodie in usu est, in qua Christus Deo Patri offertur pro peccatis vivorum et mortuorum, Scripturae est contraria, in sanctissimum sacrificium, passionem et mortem Christi blasphema et propter abusus coram Deo abominabilis.

6. Quemadmodum Christus solus pro nobis mortuus est, ita etiam solus ut mediator et advocatus inter Deum Patrem et nos fideles adorandus est; idcirco alios mediatores extra hanc vitam existentes ad adorandum proponere cum fundamento verbi Dei pugnat.

7. Esse locum post hanc vitam, in quo purgentur animae, in Scriptura non reperitur; proin omnia officia pro mortuis instituta, ut vigiliae, missae pro defunctis, exequiae, septimae, trigesimae, anniversariae, lampades, cerei et id genus alia frustanea sunt.

8. Imagines fabricare cultus gratia, Dei verbo V. et N. Testamenti libris comprehenso repugnat; idcirco si sub periculo adorationis proponantur, abolendae.

9. Matrimonium nulli ordini hominum in Scriptura interdictum est, sed scortationis et impuritatis vitandae causa omnium ordinum hominibus praeceptum et permissum.

10. Quia manifestus scortator iuxta Scripturam excommunicandus; sequitur scortationem aut impurum coelibatum propter scandalum nulli ordini magis quam sacerdotali damnosum esse.

No. 218. Jacobus Monasteriensis on the Disputation of Bern, 29 Jan. 1528.

Clarissimo viro Iureconsulto, D. Sigismundo de S. Trudone, Canonico et Custodi insignis Collegii apud S. Victorem Moguntiae, Domino et fratri suo observando.

S.P.D. Mirari te existimo quidnam acciderit quod sero adeo ad vos scribam. Causam fuisse scito conciliabulum vel disputationem (disputationem dicere volebam) Lutheranorum vel potius Zuinglianorum haereticorum Bernae habitam. Utcunque enim negotia urgerent, praesertim canonicatus apud D. Mauritium,¹ quem ante bimestre tempus germanus meus militans inter latrones Romae mihi impetravit (militum enim quam Cardinalium modo opera mihi utilior Romae fuerat)—utcunque, inquam, haec et alia negotia me urgerent, subsistere tamen libuit videreque quo evasura esset rabies et quam curae esset episcopis nostris ecclesia. Sed quid dicam? Querimur partim de dexteritate haereticorum, partim de conniventia principum, permulti etiam fata incusamus. Sed quod equidem dicere soleo, verissime in his haereticorum comitiis comperi. Ruunt res nostrae sola nostra inertia, et quia litteratos nullos nostri coryphaei alunt.

Effecerant quidam fidi nobis servatores Bernae, et ii certe apud quos hactenus summa rerum fuit, ut et episcopi,² quibus est ecclesiae in illorum ditione iurisdictio, additis etiam minis, ad suam disputationem vocarentur, sed nulla alia spe quam ut eruditos illi adducerent, qui haereticos confutarent. Sed quid? Nemo illorum vel ipse venit vel eruditos misit. Gallos quosdam misit Lausaniensis; sed antequam congredierentur revocavit eos. Venit post aliquot dies Augustinianus quidam frater; Provincialem salutabant, ac Traegerinum³ dicebant: sed loquentiae aliquid, eruditionis ac eloquentiae nihil in eo deprehensum est. Ubi enim Scripturae exigebantur, maluit abire quam disputare. Equidem in eo nihil vidi quam monachum eumque frontosum, licet alii nescio quid de eo praedicent. Clamosior alius, sed nequaquam doctor Dominicaster⁴ per dies aliquot strepuit ex Scripturis, sed quam feliciter, hinc conice. Probaturus Pontificem quoque esse caput Ecclesiae, adduxit id a Petro eum accepisse, qui ideo fuisset a Domino vocatus Cephas, caput: sic enim se legisse aiebat in Vocabulariis. Vides quales habeamus propugnatores: et adhuc miramur vulgo nos contemni et passim multos a nobis deficere?

¹ St. Maurice, in the Vallais, founded 515, and held since 1128 by Austin Canons.

² The Bishops of Constance, Basel, Lausanne, and Sitten (*Zuinglii Opera*, II. i. 71).

³ Conrad Träger, Provincial of the Augustinians, at Freiburg.

⁴ Alexius Grat, of Bern. He seems to have confused Kephass with κεφαλῇ and Kopf.

Disputarunt praeterea tres aut quatuor¹ sacrifici cum quodam ludimagistro quem Litteram¹ vocant. Non malus homo, ut videbatur, quique unus plus studii prae se ferebat defendendi ecclesiam et scripta Patrum quam quotquot fuerunt in illis comitiis. Sed deerant vires. A Fabro nostro; Eccio, Roffensi,² quae tu scis, omnia, nequaquam tam firma aut arguta, ut oportebat, in haereticos congesta, diligenter proponebat. Sed praelatorum et capituli Bernensium audi constantiam. Cum uno aut altero excepto, nemo eorum non agnosceret blasphemos illos haereticorum articulos, omnibus tamen subscripserunt singuli, idque in capitulo congregati, tantum quod indoctae bestiae nihil possent haereticis obiiicere. Si cordati fuissent vel mediocri dexteritate praediti, ita valebat adhuc factio nostra Bernae, si nihil aliud, ut in annum usque potuissent disputationem extrahere. Sed sic decet nos poenas dare contemptarum litterarum et neglectus studiorum. Horum vero insanum consilium secuti sunt in ditione Bernatium monachi et sacrifici. Habent autem parochias 304, praeter ditissima quaedam coenobia et collegia, forte plus minus triginta, in fide Ecclesiae perseverantia.

De haereticis forte cupis ut scribam : sed quid mihi et tibi causam ingeram doloris? Scribam de paucis. Facilis illis pugna fuit, cum nulli instructi coram starent antagonistae. Ita paratos non vidi, quin si dextri homines adfuissent et in Scripturis versati : si non in omnibus illos vicissent (quis enim vinceret quovis Corinthio aere loquaciores? praesertim cum nostra omnia non aperte ex Scripturis probari possint) remorati tamen fuissent in dubio illorum conatus. O si vel unus Erasmus commissus illis fuisset ! Vidi enim saepe de responsionibus inter eos non convenire. Vidi anxie alii alium quid diceret suggerere. Vidi de germano quorundam locorum sensu haerere. Ita instructo et dextro disputatori aptissimae ansae fuissent confundendi illos, auctoritatisque adimendae illis atque ita vastationem quam invexerunt revocandi. Quanquam autem, si viros haeretici contra se habuissent, cautius et consultius sua egissent. Suntque admodum quidam eorum qui ut solum Zuinglii vehementia, tantum ira excitari potuerunt. Admodum enim ille continuo fervebat. Et usui nobis fuisset et decorum, atque auctoritatem illius imminuissimus : doctior tamen haec bellua est quam putabam. Nasutus Oecolampadius in prophetis ille et Hebraea lingua praestare videtur : sed nihil

¹ Jo. Buchstab, schoolmaster at Zofingen, in Aargau.

² John Fisher, Bishop of Rochester, 1504-†1535.

illi ubertate ingenii et exponendi perspicuitate: tamen in Graecis, si non maior, par illi. Quid nunc impostor Capito¹ valeat, non potui diiudicare. Pauca enim locutus est. Plura Snaphanicus² Bucerus³, qui si eruditione et linguarum scientia par esset Zuinglio et Oecolampadio, nobis magis metuendus esset. Ita difficile commovetur bestiola, et satis luculenter sua proponit. Sed quid? Iniquissime vides rem nostram comparatam coram exercitatissimis haereticis. Unus et alter latravit sacrificulus, qui vigiliis canendis, non disputando, erant exercitati et bonus ille ludimagister Littera sane parum litterata.

Quem autem eventum habuit disputatio? Indignum nostra diligentia. Cum disputatio finita esset 25 Ianuarii, utriusque Senatus decreto consultum est ut omnes arae, statuae, missae et quicquid cultus divini et caerimoniarum est ecclesiae in oppido Bernae et omnibus vicis et pagis ipsorum imperio subiectis, ubi non maior populi pars, id ferat, eliminentur nec unquam recipiantur. O tempora, O mores, O nostram socordiam! Quam facile potuisset hoc malum caveri, si studiosiorum quam scortorum nostri episcopi amantiores essent! Sed dices: Nullane spes hos nefariorum haereticorum conatus refringendos? Certe perpauca. Nosti ferocitatem huius gentis, quam nihil aliud subvertit quam quod nemo adeo idoneus contra haereticos prodire fuit ausus. Lucernani cum primoribus pagorum aliquot sedulo sane navarunt operam: seduliorum certe quam omnes episcopi ut ista impedirentur. Sed dum malis adeo defensoribus nostrae partes apparuerunt, rudis plebs nudos quoque veritate arbitrata est, vicitque pars maior meliorem. Nam Tigurini omnia possunt apud illos quos scis et exercitatissimos esse dolis et incomparabili pertinacia. Quid nunc faciant alii? Senatum quoque Basiliensem scis metu plebis suae, quem incantat Oecolampadius non tam eruditione quam hypocrisi sua, nihil posse. Idem paullo post usu venit et aliis. Unum equidem timeo, paullo post Helvetios aequae Pontificis excussuros iugum, atque excusserunt iam pridem Caesaris. Et utinam Constantia et aliquot urbes Imperii non sequantur exemplum. Res Caesaris fere sic habent in Italia, et regis Hungarorum in Hungaria, sicut Saxonia, ut frustra in praesenti ab ipsis speremus haereticos opprimendos. Nisi nos excindi volumus, ad eas artes nobis confugiendum est,

¹ Wolfgang Capito, 1478-†1541, parish priest of Jung St. Peter's, Strassburg.

² *Schnapphahn*—footpad.

³ Martin Butzer, 1491-†1551, people's priest at St. Aurelian, Strassburg.

quibus primum crevit ecclesia, eruditionem et mores aliqua saltem specie laudabiles. Sed de his satis. . .

No. 219. Image-breaking at Basel, 10 Feb. 1529.

(1) *A letter of Oecolampadius to Capito, 13 Feb. 1529.*

Gratia et pax a Christo, mi frater. Iterum agenda nobis sunt Deo gratiae, qui novos et graviore, incruentos tamen, ecclesiae nostrae motus pacavit, in magnam Antichristi confusionem. Malo nodo suus cuneus obvenit. Ubi enim ecclesia nostra intellexit proceres suos a Senatu auditos quidem sed non exauditos, imo repulsam passos quum petissent auctores ipsos non servatarum promissionum e Senatu penitus amoveri: collecta in aede Franciscanorum et expendens quid posthac periculi si aristocratia in paucorum tyrannidem degeneraret, memorque secum suae libertatis et cogitans quid gloriae Christi, quid iustitiae publicae, quidque posteritati suae deberet, iam non, ut morem habuit, obsecrare et precari sed postulare et Senatum sui officii admonere; missis ad illum delectis suis in curiam. Et principio sine armis occuparunt curias quasdam Zunfitarum,¹ bona hominum parte pervagante in foro et plateis, ne quid forte ab adversariis insidiarum strueretur. Postquam autem dies inclinavit et responsum datum est nominatos quosdam in re quidem Evangelica egredi debere e Senatu, in caeteris autem causis posse assidere, plebs magis exasperata est, contemptam nimirum se videns, contestataque est se iam non Evangelii sed publicae iustitiae tuendae causa adesse: intolerabilem sibi posthac tyrannidem: non detrectare tamen in aliis Senatus auctoritatem. Et propterea mox totum armata forum occupavit, non quod opprimere dominos vellet, sed ut tuto et sine periculo negotium transigeret.

Hoc sciens Senatus non multo mitior factus est. Ita etiam sequens dies, aliquin Gentilium more insaniae sacer—*Ascher-Mittwoche*, carnisprivia vocant,—vidit plebem ferventem et in armis curias et forum occupantem, adversariorum autem nullus se opponere ausus fuit. Consul Meltingerus, cum Oeglino Offenburger senatore,² clam conscensa navicula, nescio Senatu, clapsus est: quod illum sibi parum bene conscium indicavit. Adhuc tamen Senatus ad postulationem plebis obsurdесеbat, et ad arbitros quosdam qui in hac causa pronuntiarent, provocabat; quod tamen plebs non detrectabat,

¹ The halls of the guilds.

² The Burgomaster and his son-in-law.

hac scilicet conditione, ut plebs ex publico aërio litiget et accuset, illi vero suo sumptu rei sint. Interim habita est magna portarum turriumque vigilia: nec minor erat civium circumspectio quam in medio hostium. Ioannes Irmus plebis nomine apud Senatum oravit mira constantia et fide et non minus plausibiliter apud plebem. Senatus itaque cunctando patientiam plebis frangere studebat, et in minoribus petitionibus occupabatur: nam qua ratione et modo Thilamonijs noster (G. Tyllmannii) summo templo restitueretur concionator, et similia cogitabant.

Accidit autem ut quidam armati, perlustrantes civitatem, ingrederentur templum summum et cum hellepardis quasi per lulum aperirent armarium idolorum unumque idolum educerent: quod in multas partes statim collapsum est et occasionem illis dedit et alia idola comminuendi, licet nihil se tale facturos cogitarent. Prohibere autem hoc coeperunt quidam pontificii: unde nostri contendere nedum pugnare volentes egrediuntur. Sed nescio quis rumor aliis interim factum insinuavit. Statim enim ex nostris armati trecenti ex foro affuerunt, fortasse anxii de his qui rem tantam affectarint. Hi vi irruerunt in templum summum et omnia idola deturbarunt: et deinde perrexerunt in templum S. Petri, Praedicatorum et Albani nec non Huldrici similiterque in omnibus templis egerunt. Superveniebant senatores qui prohibebant; sed non curabantur. Imo audiebant graviter: 'De quo vos per triennium deliberastis nihil efficientes nos intra horam omne absolvemus.' Quae vox cum similibus ita eos terruit caeterosque senatores ut iam prorsus nihil dubitarent cedendum in hac parte plebi: unde mox omnia ut postulata erant obtinuit. Eiecti enim e Senatu duodecim . . . omnes insignes adversarii. Decretum ut posthac communibus suffragiis creent Scabinos (quos vocant *Sechser*) singuli in suis curiis, et posthac Dioecesium¹ suffragio eligatur magistratus summus et Senatores eius anni confirmentur. Decretum ut eo ipso die in civitate et agro Basiliensi tollantur idola, abrogataque sit prorsus Missa in omnibus templis ac domibus. Denique quae vel ad gloriam Dei vel ad pacem reipublicae pertinent cum Dioecesiis² et ex plebe assumptis circiter sexaginta optimatibus disponenda sunt absque ulteriori cunctatione. Atque sic his conditionibus plebs laeta domum redit, sub ipsum noctis crepusculum.

Hic multi fortassis, mi frater, nostris varia crimina imponunt haud dubie sed falso. Nulli nec obolum abstulerunt: tantum

¹ v. l. Diacosiorum.

² v. l. Diacosiiis.

in templisulti sunt iniurias quasdam* ita nimirum volente Domino. In die Cinerum, cum idola secta distribui inciperent pauperibus, quidam importunius illa petebant, ita ut vulnerarent se mutuo. Ea propter visum est nostris ut idola omnia in cineres redigantur eo ipso die Cinerum. Accensae sunt igitur pyrae novem in campo Monasterii. Tristissimum, mehercle, superstitiosus spectaculum. *Sie hätten blut weinen mögen.* Et ita saevitum est in idola, Ac Missa exspiravit prae dolore. Duodecima Februarii autem Dioecesis¹ cum optimatibus Senatusconsulta approbarunt, et conciliati sunt. Hodie in singulis curiis plebei denuo obedientiam exhibebunt. Mox assunt Tigurinorum, Bernatium, Soloturensiumque legati. Sed in tempore venerunt, confecto scilicet divina ope tempestive negotio.

Vides, mi frater, ut res nostrae habeant. Ipse tamen nescio an magis quieti simus futuri. Ni fallor, plus laboris plusque curarum nobis incumbet quam unquam. Adversarii me fontem omnis huius rei vocant. Sunt aliqui, abitionem parantes: ex quibus est Glareanus,² homo ad maledicentiam et inepta scommata natus. Proficiscitur cum suis discipulis Friburgum. Ludovicus Berus ante mensem hinc abiit. Saluta fratres omnes, praesertim Bucerum ac Hedionem.³ Eusebius meus non tam valentulus est quam procerulus, catharro pene enecatur ac tussi. Forsitan Dominus illum puerum adhuc ad se vocabit. Saluta et uxorem.

Basileae raptim 13 Februarii, anno Reformationis 1529.

(2) From a letter of Erasmus to Pirckheimer, 9 May 1529.— Tandem vertimus solum, ex Rauracis⁴ facti Brisgoi. Dum promiscua fex plebis armata ac dispositis machinis versaretur in foro, nemo non timebat sibi, cui domi esset quod nolit perire. Aliquamdiu res videbatur spectare ad arma. Melior pars favebat ecclesiastico negotio, sed numero minor: nam altera multos habebat admixtos externos, multos decoctores, multos palam infames. Hanc tragoediam orsi sunt sub ipsam brumam, ne cui promptum esset vel fugere vel accersere

¹ v. l. Diacosii.

² Heinrich Loriti, born at Mollis in Glarus, June, 1488: died at Freiburg im Breisgau, as professor of poetry, 28 March 1563. Others who left at this crisis were Erasmus, on 13 April. He was at Freiburg till June, 1535, and then returned to Basel, where he died 12 July, 1536. The Bishop, Philip von Gundelsheim, 1527-1553, retired to Pruntrut, and the Chapter to Freiburg. The University also took flight.

³ Caspar Hedio, 1493-1552, Preacher in the Cathedral at Strassburg from 1523.

⁴ A portion of the Sundgau and of the Canton of Basel.

suppetias. Ecclesiastica pars, ubi videret contra Senatus editum contraque iusiurandum fieri conventicula, induit arma: mox idem fecit altera, operas etiam educens in forum ac bombardas. Auctoritate Senatus factum est ut pars ecclesiastica deponeret arma; quod aegre fecit et altera, sed ad tempus: nam quum decretum esset saevire in divos ac divas, condensant sese in foro, dispositis tormentis aeneis et aliquot noctibus illic sub dio agebant exstructa pyra ingenti, magno omnium metu; in nullius tamen aedes irruerunt neque cuiusquam corpus attigerunt nisi quod Consul, mihi proximus vicinus, vir facundus et de republica crebro bene meritus, noctu scapha subduxit sese, periturus ni id fecisset. Profugerunt et alii complures metu, qui tamen ex auctoritate Senatus revocati sunt, si vellent iure civium vivere: e Senatu vero submoti sunt, quotquot faverent pristinae religioni, ne qua esset illic suffragiorum dissensio. Hactenus tamen Senatus moderatus est tumultum, ut per fabros et artifices tollerentur e templis, quae tolli placuisset. Tantis autem ludibriis usi sunt in simulacra divorum atque etiam Crucifixi, ut mirum sit nullum illic editum miraculum quum olim tam multa soleant edere vel leviter offensi divi. Statuarum nihil relictum est nec in templis nec in vestibulis nec in porticibus nec in monasteriis. Quicquid erat pictarum imaginum calcea incrustura oblitum est; quod erat capax ignis, in rogam coniectum est; quod secus, frustulatum comminutum. Nec pretium nec ars impetravit ut cuiquam omnino parceretur. Mox in totum abrogata Missa, ut nec privatim domi fas esset sacrificare, nec in finitimis pagis audire sacrum. Ubi summus ille metus ademptus est ac propemodum spes esset fore ut in nullius facultates aut caput saeviretur, ad hanc clementiam adhortante Oecolampadio, quotidie tamen ex synodis illorum prodibant nova plebiscita, coepi de migrando cogitare. . . .

Friburgi, 9 Maii, Anno 1529.

X

CAPPEL, 1529-31

Bern and Basel had not yet gone over to reform, when Zürich inaugurated a policy of leagues for self-defence among the reforming cities by entering into, 25 Dec. 1527, [No. 220] **A Christian Civic Alliance** with Constance (Bullinger, i, § 223). The treaty was modelled on that by which Basel had been admitted to the Confederation (*supra*, p. 365); but with one significant change.

Theological agreement was now to be the basis of political co-operation. Other cities joined: in 1528, Bern 25 June (Bullinger, ii, § 240) and St. Gall 26 Nov. (*ibid.* § 249), and in 1529 Biel, 28 Jan. and Mühlhausen 17 Feb. (*ibid.* § 261), Basel 3 March (*ibid.* § 268), Schaffhausen, 15 Oct. (*ibid.* § 325). The Five Forest Cantons replied, 22 April, by the Christian Union with Ferdinand of Austria (*ibid.* § 264, and cf. Ranke, *Ref.* 642). A collision was inevitable. It ensued upon a vacancy in the Abbey of St. Gall. For in view of, 26 March, the Abbot's death (*ibid.* § 276), the Council of Zürich, 28 Jan., took advantage of its turn as protector of the Abbey, to seize its property, secularize it, and introduce 'the Gospel' (Strickler, *Aktensammlung*, ii, No. 46). Not content with this act of aggression which he had supported (*ibid.* No. 48), on 30 May [No. 221] **Zwingli wrote to Bern** (*Opera*, viii. 294) to stiffen its resolution for war; and, when there broke out the First War of Cappel (Bullinger, ii, § 298), it was he who drafted both, 8 June, the reasons for the declaration of war (*ibid.* § 297) and, 11 June, the proposals (*Opera*, viii. 296) which ended, 25 June, in [No. 222] **the First Peace of Cappel** (Bullinger, ii, § 314). On 30 June in [No. 223] **a letter to Conrad Sam at Ulm** (*Opera*, viii. 310), he rightly claims the Peace as a victory for his side.

But events in Germany were threatening. On 7 April 1529 the Diet of Speier resolved (*supra*, No. 105) to extend no toleration to Sacramentaries: and the dominance of the Emperor, following upon his reconciliation with the Pope by, 29 June, the Peace of Barcelona (*supra*, No. 108) and with Francis I by, 5 August, the Peace of Cambray, gave reason for alarm. Scarcely had the Protest, 19 April, appeared (*supra*, No. 107), when, 22 April [No. 224], **Phillip of Hesse wrote to Zwingli** (*Opera*, viii. 287) proposing a conference with a view to united action. Zwingli accepted the invitation, 7 May (*ibid.* viii. 662); but only to find that theological agreement, again to be the basis of political union, was unattainable when, at length, the Conference met at Marburg, 1-4 Oct. (*supra*, No. 109). He hoped, however, 20 Oct., that enough had been done to curb the 'monarchiam Caesaris' (*Opera*, viii. 370); and began, 2 Nov., to concert with Philip and Venice (*ibid.* 665), and even, 18 Jan. 1530, with France (*ibid.* 397), a wider league. The accession of Strassburg, 5 Jan. 1530, to the Civic Alliance (*ibid.* 393) was the only result. But, as Butzer wrote, 23 June, from Augsburg (*ibid.* 473), such was the animosity of Lutherans to Oberlanders at the Diet of Augsburg, 20 June-22 Sept. 1530 (*supra*, Nos. 115-23), and such the antipathy of Zwingli (*Opera*, viii. 549) to Butzer's Eucharistic doctrine that two Confessions, besides that of Augsburg (*supra*, No. 116), had to be offered separately to the Emperor: on 8 July [No. 225] **Zwingli's Fidei Ratio** (*Opera*, iv. 1 sqq. and Niemeyer, *Collectio Confessionum*, 16 sqq.) and on 11 July [No. 226] **the Confessio Tetrapolitana** (Niemeyer, 740 sqq.) in which Butzer set forth the position, intermediate theologically as geographically between Saxon and Swiss, of Strassburg, Constance, Memmingen, and Lindau.

Again, the dominance of the Emperor seemed overwhelming. In face of it, the Elector accepted the Eucharistic tenets of the *Tetrapolitana*, and the four cities found refuge, 27 Feb. 1531, with the Schmalkaldic League (*supra*, No. 124): but Zwingli, 12 Feb., repudiated their doctrine (*Opera*, viii. 579: cf. Ranke, *Ref.* 652 sq.). Then, aided by fears of Imperial invasion (*ibid.* 593), he was all for renewal of the war with the Five Forest Cantons (*ibid.* 586). Bern thought it sufficient, 15 May, to stop their supplies (Bullinger, ii, § 377). But even this meant war. In straits for food the Foresters crossed the border: defeated Zürich 11 Oct. (*ibid.* iii, §§ 436-7) and left Zwingli dead, on the field of Cappel (*ibid.* § 445). On 20 Nov. [No. 227] **the second Peace of Cappel** (*ibid.* § 485) transferred the advantage to the Catholic side: Zwingli was succeeded by Bullinger, 1504-75, as *antistes* at Zürich and Oecolampadius, † 24 Nov. 1531, by Oswald Myconius 1488-† 1552 at Basel. The spread of reform in German Switzerland came suddenly to an end (*ibid.* iii, pp. 352 sq.).

No. 220. The Christian Civic Alliance, 25 Dec. 1527.

We the Burgomasters, Little and Great Councils, Citizens and whole Communes of the cities of Zürich and Constance, do all and singular to wit by these presents. . . .

In order that this Civic Alliance may be in every way for the best and, so far as it extends, be understood, we have thought it well to explain the same by the articles hereinafter written:

And first, whereas faith and the salvation of souls rests in no man's might or power but is a free and unmerited grace and gift of God, therefore we of either part, viz. each in his own dominions, are so to bear and behave ourselves in matter of faith and the salvation of souls as to keep true to God and in accord with Holy Scripture; contrary to which neither party is to be allowed to afflict or attack the other or to help any one else, whoever he be, that presumes to act contrary thereto, whether by advice or in any way. But should it befall either party to be subdued, in matter of faith or evangelical doctrine, by any one, be he who he may; or should any one presume to do us, our goods and chattels, any hindrance, damage, or hurt, or to overrun or invade us, or to treat us unjustly in any way, let it be from what cause soever, then we are, either party and, moreover, each at his own cost, with our bodies and goods to help, protect and, with all our resources, to assist the other. . . .

No. 221. Zwingli's letter to Bern, 30 May 1529.

Quod hactenus ad vos scripsi, iterum atque iterum facio ut constantes sitis neque bellum metuatis. Nam ista pax quam quidam tantopere urgent, bellum est non pax. Et bellum cui nos instamus pax est, non bellum; non enim sitimus cuiusquam sanguinem, neque etiam per tumultum hauriemus; sed in hoc sumus, ut oligarchiae nervi succidantur. Id nisi fiat, neque Evangelii veritas, neque illius ministri apud nos in tuto erunt. Nihil crudele cogitamus, sed quicquid agimus amicum et paternum est. Salvare cupimus quosdam, qui per ignorantiam pereunt. Servare libertatem satagimus. Vos igitur nolite abhorre tantopere a consiliis nostris. Mitiora sunt et aequiora quam quidam apud vos dictitant. . . .

No. 222. The First Peace of Cappel, 25 June 1529.

First, as concerns the Word of God. Inasmuch as no man ought to be forced in matter of faith, the Cantons and their domains shall not be put under compulsion therein: but as touching the subject districts and bailiwicks, which are under the lordship of either side—where they have abolished the Mass and burnt or done away with Images, they shall not be punished in person, honour, or goods: and where the Mass and other ceremonies are still retained, they shall not be subjected to force, nor shall any preachers be sent, appointed, or assigned to them, so long as the majority objects; but whatsoever the majority of their parishioners shall resolve to admit or to abolish, such as meats which God has not forbidden to eat, so shall it remain during the pleasure of the parishioners, and neither side shall make war upon nor chastise the other for its faith.

Secondly, as concerning the alliance and Union with Ferdinand. Inasmuch as this was concluded solely for faith's sake, and it is now determined by the arbitrators that neither side shall for faith's sake force, fight, or hate the other, therefore, before any one moves from the field, the said Union shall be forthwith given up and surrendered into the hands of the arbitrators, its seals broken, its parchment pierced and slit, so that every one may see the pieces; and the same shall be dead and gone and done with, and neither side shall hereafter make use of it or its like. As concerning the other Civic Alliances and leagues lately concluded, a conference shall be held as to

how they shall be carried on. But the Christian Civic Alliance between the six cities of Zürich, Bern, Basel, St. Gall, Mühlhausen, Biel, and others, shall remain unbroken and inviolate.

Thirdly, as concerns pensions, subsidies, gifts, and presents from Kings, Princes, and Lords, it is resolved never more to take the same: and the six cities with their subjects earnestly pray the Five Cantons and their communes to withdraw themselves from, and have nothing to do with, all Princes and Lords, as also from campaigns, pensions, subsidies, and gifts, and to have regard to our Fatherland. . . .

**No. 223. Zwingli to Conrad Sam at Ulm,
30 June 1529.**

. . . Pacem nobis honestissimam nos domum retulisse spero, cum non caedem factum profecti simus, quamquam adversarii nostri non parum detrimenti tulerunt. Praesertim cum tabellae foederis cum Ferdinando facti ante oculos nostros a praetore pagi Glaronensis 26 Iunii sub xi horam antemeridianam in castris nostris gladio concisae et deletae sint, id quod ipse quoque vidi. . . . Has res igitur vere Dominis tuis et cui tibi libet indicare potes. Denique Deo commendatus sis. Saluta meo nomine omnes fideles, Deus enim iterum proceribus ostendit, eos contra se nihil valere, nosque docuit nos vincere posse vel nulla caede facta, si in se nitamur. In tota enim nostra expeditione omnino nulla discordia fuit neque altera pars alteri ullum hominem vulneravit. Apud adversarios quidem metus et discordia fuit, id quod Deus providit, nec minus fames. . . .

No. 224. Philip of Hesse to Zwingli, 22 April 1529.

. . . Philippus, Dei gratia Landgravius Hassiae, Comes Catzenelnbogensis etc., Clementem voluntatem nostram tibi ante omnia pollicemur, vir doctissime. . . .

Nos id agitamus ut Lutherum, Melancthonem et alios quoque qui de Sacramento in sententia tua sunt loco opportuno cogamus, ut si Deus misericors et omnipotens propitius adesse voluerit, de eo loco pactionem in sacra Scriptura positam faciant et in consensu Christianis digno vivant. Nam in hoc conventu Principum Papistae ad conservandam perversam suam vitam et mores sibi aliter consulere nequeunt nisi ut dicant nos qui integro et lucido Dei verbo addicti simus inter nos ipsos de religionis doctrina non consentire; quae nisi ita

essent, facile esset rebus mederi ut tapdem puerilia illa mutarentur. Quare clementissime a te petimus ut auctor sis et quam maxime nobiscum annitaris ut vestratum nec minus Lutheranorum aliqui tempore et loco dicto cogantur, quo magis, ut supra dixi, de iis rebus ad consensum in iusto fundamento positum et Christianis dignum perducamur. Cuius officii tibi clementer memores futuri sumus. . . .

No. 225. From Zwingli's 'Fidei Ratio', 8 July 1530.

Primo igitur, et credo et scio unum ac solum esse Deum eumque esse natura bonum, verum, potentem, iustum, sapientem, creatorem et curatorem rerum omnium visibilium atque invisibilium. Esse Patrem, Filium et Spiritum sanctum Personas quidem tres, sed essentiam horum unam ac simplicem. Et omnino iuxta expositionem Symboli tam Niceni quam Athanasiani per singula de Numine ipso deque nominibus sive Personis tribus sentio. Filium carnem adsumpsisse credo et intelligo quod humanam naturam, imo totum hominem, qui ex corpore et animo constat, vere ex immaculata perpetuaque virgine Maria adsumpserit. . . . Ad hunc ergo modum non solus sentio sed sic senserunt tam de ipso Numine quam de Personis deque adsumpta natura orthodoxi omnes sive prisci sive neoterici: sic sentiunt qui veritatem etiam nunc agnoscunt.

Secundo. Scio Numen istud summum, quod Deus meus est, libere constituere de rebus universis, ita ut non pendeat consilium eius ab ullius creaturae occasione; hoc enim est mutilae illius humanae sapientiae proprium, praecedente discursu aut exemplo statuere. . . . Hinc est ut quamvis sciens ac prudens hominem principio formaret qui lapsurus erat, simul tamen constitueret Filium suum humana natura amicare qui lapsum repararet. . . .

Tertio. Scio nullam aliam esse expiandorum scelerum hostiam quam Christum. . . . Relinquuntur ergo hic cum operum nostrorum iustificatio et satisfactio, tum sanctorum omnium, sive in terra sive in coelis degentium, de bonitate et misericordia Dei expiatio aut intercessio. Hic enim unus, ac solus mediator Dei et hominum est, Deus et homo Christus Iesus.

Quarto. . . . Peccatum originale, ut est in filiis Adae, non proprie peccatum esse . . . non enim est facinus contra legem. Morbus igitur est proprie et conditio. Morbus, quia sicut ille

ex amore sui lapsus est, ita et nos labimur: conditio, quia sicut ille servus est factus et morti obnoxius, sic et nos servi et filii irae nascimur et morti obnoxii. . . . Istud originale peccatum, per conditionem et contagionem agnasci omnibus qui ex adfectu maris et feminae gignuntur, agnosco: et nos esse natura filios irae scio, sed gratia quae per secundum Adam, Christum, casum restituit, inter filios Dei recipi non dubito. . . .

Quinto. Hinc constat, si in Christo secundo Adam vitae restituimur, quemadmodum in primo Adam sumus morti traditi, quod temere damnamus Christianis parentibus natos pueros, imo gentium quoque pueros. . . .

Sexto. Igitur de ecclesia sic sentimus. Ecclesiam in Scripturis varie accipi, pro electis istis qui Dei voluntate destinati sunt ad vitam aeternam. . . . Haec soli Deo est nota. . . . Sed nihilominus qui huius ecclesiae membra sunt, seipsos quidem, cum fidem habent, electos et primae huius ecclesiae membra esse norunt, verum alia a se membra ignorant. . . . Sumitur iterum ecclesia universaliter pro omnibus scilicet qui Christi nomine censentur. . . . De hac igitur ecclesia esse credimus quotquot fatentur Christi nomen. . . . Capitur postremo ecclesia pro quovis particulari coetu huius universalis ac sensibilis ecclesiae, ut ecclesia Romana, Augustana, Lugdunensis. . . . Hic igitur credo unam esse ecclesiam eorum, qui eundem habent Spiritum, qui eos certos reddit quod veri filii familiae Dei sint, et haec est ecclesiarum primitiae. Hanc credo in veritate non errare, puta in primis istis fidei fundamentis, in quibus cardo versatur. Credo et universalem sensibilem unam esse dum veram confessionem istam, de qua iam dictum est, tenet. Credo etiam de hac ecclesia esse quicumque nomen illi dant iuxta verbi Dei praescriptum et promissionem. Credo infantem Isaac, Iacob, Iudam, et omnes qui de semine Abrahae erant, eos quoque infantes quorum parentes inter ecclesiae primordia praedicantibus Apostolis ad Christi partes concedebant, de hac esse ecclesia. Nam Isaac et reliqui veterum nisi fuissent, non recepissent ecclesiae tesseram. Cum ergo isti de ecclesia fuerint, fuerunt et primitivae ecclesiae infantes ac parvuli. Quocirca credo et scio baptismi sacramento signatos. . . . Vere igitur baptismus perinde ac circumcisio . . . nihil quam alterum istorum aut confessionem sive nominis dationem aut foedus sive promissionem requirit. . . .

Septimo. Credo imo scio omnia sacramenta tam abesse ut gratiam conferant ut ne adferant quidem aut dispensent. . . .

Vehiculum Spiritui non est necessarium : ipse enim est virtus et latio qua cuncta feruntur, non qui ferri opus habeat : neque id unquam legimus in Scripturis sacris quod sensibilia, qualia sacramenta sunt, certo secum ferrent Spiritum. . . . Ex quibus hoc colligitur . . . sacramenta dari in testimonium publicum eius gratiae, quae cuique privato prius adest. . . . Credo igitur, O Caesar, sacramentum esse sacrae rei, hoc est factae gratiae, signum. . . . Et ob hanc causam sacramenta, quae sacrae sunt caeremoniae (accedit enim verbum ad elementum et fit sacramentum), religiose colenda, . . . ut enim gratiam facere non possunt, ecclesiae tamen nos visibiliter sociant, qui prius invisibiliter in illam recepti. . . . Nam si aliter de sacramentis sentiamus, puta quod exterius adhibita intus purgent, iam redit Iudaismus. . . .

Octavo. Credo quod in Sacra Eucharistia, hoc est gratiarum actionis coena, verum Christi corpus adsit, fidei contemplatione : hoc est, quod ii qui gratias agunt Domino pro beneficio nobis in Filio suo collato, agnoscunt illum veram carnem adsumpsisse, vere in illa passum esse, vere nostra peccata sanguine suo abluisse, et sic omnem rem per Christum gestam illis fidei contemplatione velut praesentem fieri. Sed quod Christi corpus per essentiam et realiter, hoc est corpus ipsum naturale, in coena aut adsit aut ore dentibusque nostris mandatur, quemadmodum Papistae et quidam qui ad ollas Aegyptiacas¹ respectant, perhibent, id vero non tantum negamus sed errorem esse qui verbo Dei adversatur constanter adseveramus. . . .

Nono. Credo caeremonias, quae neque per superstitionem fidei neque verbo Dei contrariae sunt (quanquam huiusmodi nesciam an quae inveniantur) per caritatem tolerari, donec lucifer magis ac magis allucescat, posse. . . . Imagines autem quae ad cultum prostitutae sunt, non censeo inter caeremonias, sed ex eorum esse numero quae verbo Dei ex diametro repugnant. Quae autem non prostant ad cultum, aut ubi cultus futuri nullum est periculum, tam abest ut damnum ut et pictoriam et statuariam Dei dona esse agnoscam.

Decimo. Credo prophetiae sive predicationis munus sacrosanctum esse, ut quod ante omne officium sit summe

¹ The Lutherans.—The argument goes on to deny the presence of Christ's 'corpus naturale' alleging his 'humanitatem esse in uno loco, divinitatem vero ubique'. It is more briefly put in one sentence of the *Expositio Christianae Fidei* (addressed in 1530 to Francis I): 'Abiit ergo, et non est hic' (Niemeyer, 47).

necessarium. Canonice enim sive regulariter loquendo videmus apud omnes populos externam praedicationem Apostolorum et Evangelistarum sive Episcoporum praecessisse fidem, quam tamen soli Spiritui ferimus acceptam. . . . Hoc genus ministrorum qui scilicet docent . . . in populo Christi agnoscimus. Illud quoque quod baptizat, in coena Domini corpus et sanguinem . . . circumfert, quod aegrotos visitat, quod mendicos cibis ecclesiae opibus ac nomine . . . At mitratum hoc genus atque pedatum, quod numerus est et fruges consumere natum, ἐρώσιον ἄχθος ἀρούρης, credimus νόθον, et id omnino esse in ecclesiae corpore quod strumae et gibbi sunt in humano.

Undecimo. Scio magistratum rite inauguratum locum Dei tenere, non minus quam prophetiam. . . .

Duodecimo. Credo purgatorii ignis figmentum tam contumeliosam rem esse in gratuitam redemptionem per Christum donatam quam lucrosa fuit auctoribus suis. . . .

No. 226. From the Confessio Tetrapolitana, 11 July 1530.

De Eucharistia, c. xviii. De hoc venerando corporis et sanguinis Christi sacramento omnia quae de illo Evangelistae, Paulus et sancti Patres scripta reliquerunt, nostri fide optima docent, commendant, inculcant. Indeque singulari studio hanc Christi in suos bonitatem semper depraedicant, qua is non minus hodie quam in novissima illa coena omnibus qui inter illius discipulos ex animo nomen dederunt, cum hanc coenam, ut ipse instituit, repetunt, verum suum corpus verumque suum sanguinem vere edendum et bibendum in cibum potumque animarum, quo illae in aeternam vitam alantur, dare per sacramenta dignatur, ut iam ipse in illis et illi in ipso vivant et permaneant, in die novissimo in novam et immortalem vitam per ipsum resuscitandi, iuxta sua illa aeternae veritatis verba: Accipite et manducate, hoc est corpus meum, etc. Bibite ex eo omnes, hic calix est sanguis meus, etc. . . .

No. 227. The Second Peace of Cappel, 20 Nov. 1531.

First, we of Zürich shall and will let our trusty and well-beloved Confederates of the Five Cantons, as also their well-beloved fellow citizens and countrymen of Wallis with all their allies, spiritual and temporal, abide without any contradiction or dispute, in their true undoubted Christian faith, now and

hereafter, throughout their cities, lands, territories, and lordships, all evil devices, evasions, deceit, and fraud being dismissed and put away. And we, in our turn, of the Five Cantons will also let our Confederates of Zürich and their allies abide by their faith. . . .

Secondly, we of both sides shall allow each party to stand fully possessed of all liberties, lordships, and jurisdictions which we have in the common lordships and bailiwicks, severally without let or hindrance. It is also further resolved and concluded between both parties, that if, in these common lordships, any parish, commune, or lordship desire to receive the new faith and to abide thereby, it may be suffered to do so : but if any of those, who have received the new faith, desire once more to turn therefrom and receive again the old true Christian faith, then they shall, severally without let or hindrance, have free permission, full right, power, and authority so to do. Similarly, if any one in the aforesaid lordships shall not yet have renounced the old faith, whether secretly or openly, he shall be allowed to abide by his old faith without opposition or hatred. If, moreover, in one or more places it should be desired to set up again and maintain the seven sacraments, the celebration of the Holy Mass and other ordinances and ceremonies of the Christian Church, then they shall and may do so and maintain them, no less than the other side its preachers. The church goods also and the property of the benefice shall be assigned at a fixed rate to the priest, and the balance handed over to the preachers. Neither party shall revile or abuse the other because of its faith : and whosoever shall do otherwise shall be punished by the magistrate, according to the nature of the offence.

Fourthly, we of Zürich shall and will withdraw ourselves from the newly established Civic Alliances which we have made with any one whether of our Confederation or among foreign lords and cities, and will regard them on our part as dead, gone, and done with, in accordance with our sworn league, inasmuch as the said sworn league is incompatible with such Civic Alliances, provided we desire to be Confederates. Therefore we shall and will from this moment and forthwith surrender into the hands of the Five Cantons the documents of the said Civic Alliance, together with the afore-established Peace and the papers thereof, as dead, abolished, and no more worth.

§ 2. FRENCH SWITZERLAND.

XI

FAREL, 1526-32

French Switzerland (cf. Ruchat, *Histoire de la Réformation de la Suisse*, ii. 173 sq., ed. Vuillemin, 1835) centred in Bern, a rival on equal terms with Savoy for dominion in the Pays de Vaud. The Bernese, having adopted the Reformation 7 Feb. 1528 (*ibid.* i. 479 sqq.), were anxious to extend their influence by promoting it not only in their own four commanderies of *Aigle, Ormonts, Ollon, and Bex (*ibid.* i. 486 sqq.), but in *Orbe, *Grandson, and *Morat, where they exercised a joint authority with Catholic Freiburg, and in the Counties of Valangin and Neuchâtel. They found an agent in the roving preacher Guillaume Farel, 1489-†1565. Born at Gap in Dauphiné, he was, like most reformers of Western Switzerland, a French refugee: like them, too, a humanist, as the pupil and friend of Jacques Lefèvre d'Étaples (Faber Stapulensis), 1455-†1536.

On 30 Nov. 1526 [No. 228] Farel began to preach at Aigle (Hermingard, *Correspondance des Réformateurs dans les pays de langue française*, i, No. 184, n. 15) in the diocese of Sion, and sought the protection of the Bernese government (*ibid.* ii, No. 198). On 22 Feb. 1527 [No. 229] Bern upheld him against an episcopal inhibition (*ibid.* ii, No. 195) and afterwards sent, 1 Feb. 1528, a herald and, 14 Feb., letters (*ibid.* ii, No. 220 and n. 5) in his support. By 5 March a majority in [No. 230] Aigle, Ollon, and Bex were ready to vote for the Reformation (*ibid.* ii, No. 222). On the 12th [No. 231] Images and the Mass were to be put down (*ibid.* n. 4), and 25 April [No. 232] the Bernese rites were ordered to be set up in their place (*ibid.* ii, No. 231). In July [No. 233] Farel (*ibid.* ii, No. 235) and Simon Robert (*ibid.* ii, No. 238), as pastors of Aigle and of Bex respectively, were put into possession of the benefices (*ibid.* ii, No. 231, n. 6).

But Farel was too useful a man to be allowed to settle at Aigle. In 1529, after three attempts, Oct.-Nov. (*ibid.* ii, Nos. 262, 264 n. 6, 266 n. 4), on Lausanne, where, though supported by Bern, he was kept at arm's length by Sébastien de Montfaucon, the Prince-Bishop, 1517-†60, he gathered about him a band of preachers (*ibid.* ii, No. 324, n. 2) and in November appeared at [No. 234] Neuchâtel. His reception there (*ibid.* ii, No. 274) compared favourably with, 15 Aug. 1530, his [No. 235] treatment at Valangin (*ibid.* ii, No. 304, n. 1), and led, 23 Oct. to 4 Nov. 1530, to the [No. 236] abolition of Catholic Worship (*ibid.* ii, No. 317) and to the, 4 Nov., [No. 237] Recess in favour of the Reformation (Ruchat, ii. 516 sqq.) procured at the instance of Bern.

* Taken from Savoy, 1475-6.

l'objet de leur demande, toutefois sous la réserve que je ne prêcherais que la pure, claire et nette parole et doctrine de Dieu, d'après le N. et l'A. Testament, sans y rien ajouter qui fût contraire à la dite Parole, et sans rien dire contre les saints sacrements¹. Si je contrevenais à cet ordre, je devais m'attendre à un châtiment sévère. Je m'engageai, moi Farellus, à me conformer à la volonté du Sr Gouverneur, et, dans le cas où je désobéirais à ses ordres et où j'agiserais d'une manière reconnue contraire à la Parole de Dieu, je me déclarais prêt à subir le châtiment qu'il lui plairait m'infliger. . . .

No. 229. Bern upholds him, 1527-8.

(a) *From the Council of Bern to the Lieutenant of Aigle*, 22 Feb. 1527.—Noble cher et féaulx, nous avons veuz le mandement lequel l'Evesque de Sion² a mandé de public[r] en tout son Diocèse contre aucuns prégeurs [prêcheurs] vagans, qui prégent sans commission de luy et licence des curés et vicaires parochials. Lequel mandement les vicaires³ d'Olon et de Bex ont receuz, de quoy sommes très déplaissans que cella ont faict et exécuté sans nostre sceu et consentement, que [ce qui] est chose contre nostre auctorité et mandement esmané, contenant que nulli de nous [nos] soubgectz ne doit recepvoyr mandement de prince ne seigneur aultres que de nous, mesmement citations, excommunications, interdict, ne aultres fanfares.

A ceste cause toy mandons . . . de . . . prochassoir [pour-chasser] . . . les . . . deux vicaires, pour faire révocquer le dict mandement. . . .

Au surplus, touchant le prégeur françois qui prége en Alioz, puis bien qu'entendons qu'ilz est très doct et que prege la vérité de l'Evangile, ce non obstant, pource que n'est pas prestre⁴, voulons que [tu] le fasse à cesser et désister de son prégement⁵. Et ce [si] le curé au [ou] vicaire du dict lieu ne sçavent prége[r] l'Evangile ainsy qu'ilz apartient, voulons que

¹ This would appear to be in accordance with the Bernese Ordinance of 15 June, 1523 (Herminjard, ii, No. 198, n. 6).

² Philip von Platea, 1522-9.

³ The Vicar of Aigle had probably not ventured to publish the Bishop's inhibition.

⁴ Farel was a 'clerk' in the sense of a student in the Faculty of Theology at Paris (Herminjard, i, No. 83, n. 2): but was never ordained.

⁵ The Council gave him permission, 8 March 1527 (*ibid.* ii, No. 195, n. 7).

ung aultre prestre soit ordonné, et à icelluy donné charge et commission de public[r] les saintes Évangiles au peuple, laquelle chose estimons autant estre nécessaire, comme les aultres offices d'esglise ¹. . .

(b) *From a letter of the Council of Bern to the Lieutenant of Aigle, 14 Feb. 1528.*—Puis bien que nous nous avons tenuz pour asseuré que tu, ensemble nostre conseilieur Nicolas de Grafenried, eussiez acompli, donné lieuz et mis en exécution nostre exprès mandement lequell avuns donné à maistre Guillaume Fraell [Farel] prêcheur en Alie, — ce non obstant, avons par rumeur entenduz, à celluy nostre mandement ² non estre satisfaict, de quoy avons très hault regret, principalement que summes adverty[s] que le dict prêcheur par aulcuns des nostres en Alie est esté receuz en dérision,³ et, que plus est, nostre mandement mesprisé et déshonoré, et davantaige, que aulcuns de noz subjectz d'Alie . . . soy monstre[nt] désobéissans à nous, en détournant le simple peuple par dolz et menasses. Par quoy [ils] les ont dévié de soy faire obéissans et semblables à nous en ouyant la Parolle de Dieu, en desposant la messe et les idoles. . .

Touttesfoys espoirons que tu n'en saiches rien, et en says [sois] innocent.⁴ A ceste cause à toy très à certes comandons le dit prêcheur tenir en seurte et bonne garde, que ne luy soyt fait oultrage quelconque de faict ne de parolles. Car voullons que [il] prêche la Parolle de Dieu en nous quatre mandements d'Alie libéralement . . . sans empaiche de nully. Aussy voulons que tu luy fasse provisions de biens de l'esglise, qu'il ait sa chevance en boire et mange[r], acoutrement de son corps et aultres choses nécessaires. Car cy-après n'est mestier [besoin] d'avoir autant de prêtres. . . Sur ce est nostre vouloir, que au [le] mandement que à luy puis naguère avons donné soyt valide et celluy exécuté ⁵. . .

¹ The Council, by decrees 15 June 1523 and 27 May 1527, insisted on Scriptural preaching; but forbade Lutheran (*ibid.* ii, No. 198, n. 6) teaching, or anything contrary to the Seven Sacraments, the ornaments of the Church, Images, Feasts and Fasts, Celibacy, &c. (*ibid.* ii, No. 198, n. 11).

² The mandate of 27 Jan. 1528, abolishing the Mass, &c. (Ruchat, i. 477).

³ On 16 Feb. 1528, when Farel, returning from the Disputation at Bern, resumed his preaching at Aigle, the Catholics drowned his voice by beating drums at the church door (Ruchat, i. 487).

⁴ The lieutenant probably was not. He was Felix de Diesbach, brother of Nicolas de Diesbach, titular Curé of Aigle and of Bex—both of the old religion (Hermijard, ii, Nos. 216, n. 4; 220, n. 1).

⁵ The mandate of 27 Jan. 1528.

Et pour ce que cestuy nostre vouloir soyt affectuellement mis en exécution, voulons que nostre conseilleur Nicolas de Grafenried¹ ait notice de cestes, pour faire accomplir et observer nostre vouloir et à toy baillier conseil et assistance, pour mettre en effect ceste nostre ordonnance, et tous ceulx que prétendrons[t] de faire à l'encontre châtoier selon le démeritte, ou les nous envoyer, pour les traictés[r] selon que nécessité et le cas requira. Car certes [il] nous semble déraisonnable (comme ilz est) que nous soubjectz des quatre mandaments, prestres et layes, homes et femmes, petis et grand[s], soy doyent oposer à nous et nous ordonances et estre sy présumptueux de nous gouverner², ce que nullement souffrirons. . .

No. 230. Aigle, Olon, and Bex vote for the Reformation, March 1528.

From the Council of Bern to the Lieutenant of Aigle, 5 March 1528.—Non obstant que ces jours passés aviens fait ordonnances, touchant l'abolition des idoles et messes ès nostres quatre mandaments d'Allie, de remettre celluy affaire sur nos ambassadeurs³ que en brieff enverrons par delà, ce néanmoins, depuis qu'entendons que la plus part de nous chers et féalx soubjectz de nostre dicte Seigneurie sont de bon vouloir de se conformer à nous, expressément les paroichiens de Bex, ainsi que leur supplication à nous proposée devise—voulons et commandons expressément que les idoles, messes et autels [autels] en icelle église et paroiche de Bex soient incontinent oustées, et aussy ès aultres églises d'Alie⁴, Olon, Ormont et Noville, se [si] la plus part des parroichens des dictz lieuz sont en vouloir de nous obéyr et nous ensuivre en cestuy endroit : ce que une chescune des dictz parroiches peult faire de semesme [soi-même], sans contrediction ne inhibition des aultres, ne de nulli.

Mais les parroichens que ne pourroint fère ne trouver le plus⁵ en leur parroiche d'ousté [pour ôter] les images, messes et aul-

¹ A local magnate of great age (1446-†1557) and influence. He had been thrice governor of Aigle, and, 2 March 1528, was appointed to carry through the mandate setting up the Reformation (Herminjard, ii, No. 220, n. 12).

² They wanted to keep holiday on the Holy-days suppressed by Bern and to have Masses for the Dead, as hitherto (Herminjard, ii, No. 220, n. 14).

³ Two were appointed, and joined Nicolas de Grafenried at Aigle, 14 March (*ibid.* ii, No. 222, n. 1).

⁴ Aigle already had a majority for the Reformation (*ibid.* n. 3).

⁵ These were Les Ormonts, and Noville (*ibid.* n. 4).

ters, iceulx peulvent attendre la venue de nous dicts ambassadeurs—tousjours réservans que maistre Guillaume Farel puisse et doije prêché[r] la Parolle et les saintcs Évangiles de Dieuz en nous dicts quatre mandamants d'Alie, sans contradiction de nulli. . . .

**No. 231. Images and the Mass put down,
12 March 1528.**

Mes seigneurs¹ ayant appris que ceux d'Aigle, d'Ollon et de Bex ont rejeté la messe . . . vous² devez leur exprimer le contentement que mes seigneurs en ont ressenti, les exhorter à persévérer dans leur entreprise, à supprimer les autels et à brûler les images, sans les vendre ni les laisser emporter du pays.

No. 232. The Bernese rites set up, 25 April 1528.

From a letter of the Council to the lieutenant of Aigle, 25 April.— . . . Voulons aussy que en tout et partout soy faissent conformes à nous mandemens, sous poine de nostre male grâce, et toutellement vivent comme nous, touchant la foy evangelique, et obéissant aux prescheurs que leur monstrent les vrays chemins de la vie éternelle. Touchant les baptesmes, sacrement de la table de nostre Seigneur et confirmation des mariages, voulons qu'ilz l'observent comme nous.³ . . .

No. 233. Farel and Robert pastors at Aigle and Bex, July 1528.

From Instructions of the Council of Bern to the governor of Aigle.— Il faut savoir que mes seigneurs ont fixé aux prédicateurs Farel et Simon, pour leur prébende, une maison avec cour et jardin potager, plus un traitement annuel de 200 florins de Savoie. Mais s'ils préfèrent conserver les revenus des cures, tels que cens et dîmes, champs, vignes et prairies, mes seigneurs y consentent. Si, au contraire, ils prennent les 200 florins, vous mettrez en vente les biens des cures, vous ferez percevoir les cens et les dîmes, et du produit d'icelles vous leur paierez les 200 florins annuels.⁴

¹ The Council of Bern.

² Nicolas de Grafenried and his colleagues.

³ The liturgy of Bern was published 8 March 1529, and sent to all the pastors in the German-speaking territories of Bern. The French-speaking territories were left free till a Bernese book of prayers and a catechism was imposed upon them, 1552 (Herminjard, ii, No. 231, n. 4: Ruchat, iv. 490).

⁴ They preferred the benefice to the allowance.

No. 234. Farel's account of his reception at
Neuchâtel, Nov. 1529.

From a letter to Guillaume du Moulin, at Noville, 15 Dec. 1529.—Salutem, gratiam et pacem! Fratres carissimi, vos nolim latere quid Christus in suis egerit; nam praeter omnem spem multorum hic movit corda ut, contra tyrannica praecepta et ratorum¹ remoramenta, ad Verbum festinarint, quod in portis oppidorum, in vicis, areis et domibus² adnunciavimus, avide audientes et (dictu mirum) pene omnes audita credentes, etiam pugnantissima altum impressis erroribus! Gratias ergo, fratres, mecum agite Patri misericordiarum, quod sic propitius gravi pressis tyrannide adfulsit, et nostram interea absentiam boni consulite. . . .

No. 235. Farel's treatment at Valangin,³
15 Aug. 1530.

From Bibl. Publ. de Genève, MS. No. 147.—Un jour qu'on appelle Nostre Dame d'Aoust, luy [Farel] estant accompagné d'un jeune homme natif du Dauphiné, il prescha en une bourgade [Boudevilliers] . . . en la vau de Vallangin. . . . Ainsi comme il preschoit, le prestre chantoit aussi sa messe, et le jeune homme, voyant que le prestre levoit son Dieu, esmu de zèle, ne se peut contenir qu'il ne Parrachât d'entre les mains d'iceluy, et, se tournant vers le peuple, dit: 'Ce n'est pas cy le Dieu qu'il vous faut adorer: il est là-sus au ciel en la majesté du Père, et non entre les mains des prestres, comme vous cuydés, et comme ils vous donnent d'entendre.'⁴ . . . De ce faict les prestres et plusieurs autres furent grandement irrités, et

¹ The Chapter of Neuchâtel.

² Cf. the letter of his host, 3 Dec. (Herminjard, ii, No. 269).

³ The Signory of Valangin was a fief of the County of Neuchâtel (cf. *ibid.* ii, No. 299, nn. 1, 8).

⁴ By their rejection of the Real Presence and of the Adoration and the Reservation consequent upon it, the Swiss felt themselves divided no less from Luther than from the Pope. Cf. Farel to Bugenhagen, Oct. 1525.—'Nec nunc [Evangelium] peribit, si impanatus auferatur Deus. . . . Si memoria sit panis Christi pro nobis passi, et non Christus ipse, si edatur panis, non adoretur, aut adservetur repagulis clausus, ut Germanis, aut pendulis, ut Gallis. Non peribit Antichristus, quandiu perdurarit caput suum, quod impanatum esse Deum nobis non obscure indicat totius corporis cura in eo servando' (Herminjard, i, No. 163). So Oecolampadius to Zwingli, 16 Sept. 1525: 'Sacrifici et consortes illorum facile condonarent quicquid hactenus a nobis doctum; unum hoc dogma de Eucharistia, quod vel Papa vel Lutherus tradidit, convelli nolunt' (*Zwingli's Opera*, vii. 409).

toutesfois Dieu délivra pour ce coup Farel et son compagnon. Mais ce jour mesmes comme ils s'en retournoyent à Neufchastel, passans au village de Vallangin, par un lieu estroict, où est le chasteau, ils furent assaillis d'environ une vingtaine de personnes, tant hommes que femmes, desquels ils furent rudement battus et blessés par coups de pierres et bastons, tellement que peu s'en falut qu'ils non perdissent la vie, et les menarent comme prisonniers au chasteau de la Dame¹ de lieu, laquelle estoit consentante au faict. Or en les menant, ils firent entrer Farel dans une petite chapelle, et là le vouloyent contraindre de se prosterner devant une image de la Vierge Marie, à quoy il résista constamment, les admonestant d'adorer un seul Dieu en esprit et vérité, non les images muettes, sans sens et sans pouvoir : mais eux le frappoyent d'autant plus rudement . . . tellement qu'il y eut grande effusion de son sang. . . Ils les conduyrent, frappans sur eux jusques à ce qu'ils furent mis dedans les prisons du chasteau. . . Et ja soit que [bien que] ceux qui les avoyent assaillis fussent depuis jugés et réputés par justice comme brigands, toutesfois aucune punition n'en fut faite . . . d'autant que la Dame estoit papiste et leur pourtoit faveur.

No. 236. The abolition of the Catholic Worship at Neuchâtel, 23 Oct.-4 Nov. 1530.

From a letter of Georges de Rive, the Governor, to Jeanne Countess of Neuchâtel², 20 Nov. 1530.—Madame, J'ai bien receu les lettres qu'il vous a pleu de m'escire par les ambassadeurs qui ont esté par devers Vostre Grâce, et entendu ce qu'ils m'ont dit de vostre part. Et j'eusse bien souhaitté que fussiés venue par deça pour appaiser vostre peuple, qui est dans un terrible trouble à cause de ceste Lutheraine Religion, espérant que vostre présence eût obvié à plusieurs grands inconveniens venus et [qui] aviennent tous les jours.

Et, pour vous avertir par le menu, devés sçavoir qu'incontinent que les ambassadeurs qui sont allés par delà furent partis, aucuns bourgeois de la ville de Neufchastel renversèrent certaines images dans vostre église³ et les rompirent par pièces, et d'autres qu'ils rudèrent et jettèrent en bas le cloître; et aus

¹ Guillemette de Vergy, widow of Claude d'Arberg, lord of Valangin, 1497-1512.

² The County of Neuchâtel was restored to her, Aug. 1529, by the Confederation. She was the widow of Louis d'Orléans, Duc de Longueville, †1516.

³ The Collegiate Church of Neuchâtel, near the Castle.

tableaux avec instrumens ont coupé les nés aus images et percé les yeux, mesmement à Nostre Dame de pitié que feu Madame vostre Mère avoit fait faire.¹ Et encor que leur fisse remonstrance et commandement de vostre part de non procéder plus avant, n'ont voulu cesser, tellement que sommes estés obligés de cacher les images et tableaux restans en vostre maison.² Et pource que par Messieurs de Berne a esté fait la guerre à M^r de Savoye, à cause de la ville de Génève,³ et qu'il a esté convenu, à cause de la Bourgeoisie qu'avés avec eux, leur donner 50 hommes, et la ville 100—dès que ceux de la ville ont esté de retour⁴, aucuns ont induit les circonvoisins gens de guerre à rompre les portes d'aucuns Chanoines; et de fait [ils] auroient commencé par Messire Jaques de Pontareuse, n'estoit que j'y courus et les empeschai par menaces de passer outre. Néanmoins, le lendemain⁵, aucuns armés de pioches, de haches et de marteaus vinrent en vostre dite église furieusement et abbatirent le crucifix de Nostre Seigneur, l'image de Nostre Dame et de Saint Jehan et prirent les patènes où estoit *Corpus Domini* et les jettèrent en bas le cimetière et donnèrent à manger les hosties comme simple pain les uns aus autres. [Ils] ont rompu les autels, sans en laisser un, et la dite église polluée et violée, et voire battus et opprimés aucuns chanoines et chapelains dans la dite église, et illec commis plusieurs autres maux que trop prolix seroient à escrire.

Quoy voyant, ensemble les gens de nostre Conseil, pour y remédier, nous avisasmes leur faire remonstrance en général, et de bailler sûreté et aide aus gens d'église et à tous autres, afin que la plus grande effusion de sang ne survint. Ce que les tenans le parti évangélique refusèrent totalement, en me disant, que pour le fait de Dieu, concernans leurs âmes, je n'avois rien à leur commander ni faire destourbier [empêchement], mesme ne voulurent jamais parler à moi, et fus contraint d'aller et envoyer par devers eux.

Après fut avisé qu'il estoit plus que nécessaire d'envoyer à Messieurs de Berne, pour aviser à ceste affaire, veu qu'il ne me sembloit licite d'appeller Messieurs de Fribourg, Soleurre et

¹ This outbreak followed upon Farel's sermon on Sunday, 23 Oct., in the Collegiate Church.

² sc. the Castle.

³ Bern and Freiburg had sent, 3 Oct., to assist Geneva against the Duke of Savoy a detachment composed of men of Neuchâtel, &c.; cf. Ruchat, ii.

305.

⁴ They returned to Neuchâtel by 23 Oct.

⁵ sc. 24 Oct.

Lucerne, pour aucuns grands différends qu'ils ont ensemble, craignant qu'il ne vous vint à dommage et inconvenient. Ne fut appellé que le dit Canton de Berne, pour avoir quelque sûreté tant en vostre souveraineté, que les autres chacun en leur estat. Lesquels Seigneurs de Berne envoyèrent trois ambassadeurs, qui me tinrent assés gros et rudes propos, disans qu'ils s'émerveilloient de ce que j'empeschois la pure et vraye Parole de Dieu, et que j'eusse à m'en désister, car autrement vostre Estat et Seigneurie en pourroit pis valoir et estre intéressée. Et, pour ce que leur fis remonstrance qu'il seroit licite d'appeller les trois autres Cantons, esquels estes bourgeoisie, ils se dressèrent contre moi, en me disant, que si je le faisois, mal vous en aviendroit, car ils avoient assés de grabuges par ensemble. A la fin ils prirent la matière en leurs mains, et, après plusieurs peines et labeurs, conclurent ce que vous verrez par le depart¹ cy-après, lequel je vous envoie.

Or, Madame, devés entendre que la pluspart de ceste ville, hommes, femmes, tiennent fermement à l'ancienne foy, et n'ont jamais voulu consentir aus outrages qui ont esté faits, et, comme bons sujets, ont obéi à mes commandemens. Les autres sont jeunes gens de guerre, forts de leur personne, ayans le feu à la teste, remplis de la nouvelle doctrine, ayans part et faveur, en général et en particulier, des dits Seigneurs de Berne, n'ont jamais voulu attendre que le peuple fût bien ensemblé [assemblée], pour voir de quel costé y auroit plus de voix. Mais, sur le jour que les ambassadeurs de Berne vinrent,² fusmes contraints de laisser faire le plus; autrement il fust demeuré des gens morts, car ils estoient délibérés les contraindre l'espée à la main, et ne pusmes seulement avoir jour ni heure de relasche, joint qu'il fut dit par un des dits ambassadeurs de Berne: 'Tournés-vous de quel costé vous voudrés, si passerez-vous par là; car nos Seigneurs supérieurs jamais ne les veulent abandonner.'

Lors fut fait requeste par ceux qui tenoient le parti du Saint Sacrement, qu'ils vouloient mourir martyrs pour la sainte foy: ce que je ne voulus souffrir, car ils estoient délibérés à combattre, ce que je ne voulus souffrir, craignant que ce ne fust entreprise pour vous faire perdre vostre Estat et Seigneurie, et consentis à faire le plus, en réservant néanmoins vos droitures et seigneuries. Alors iceux dirent en pleurant, que les noms et surnoms des bons et des pervers fussent escrits en perpétuelle mémoire, et qu'ils protestoient de vous estre bons et fidèles

¹ The Recess (*Abschied*) quoted below.

² 4 Nov.

bourgeois, à vous faire service jusques à la mort. Les autres dirent le semblable, en toute autre chose où il vous^s plaira les commander, sauf et réservé icelle foy évangélique, dans laquelle ils veulent vivre et mourir.

Après quoy, le plus estant passé le 4^e de ce mois de Novembre, furent trouvés dix-huit hommes surpassans le nombre de ceux qui tenoient la foy catholique. Et quand le plus fut trouvé du costé de la foy évangélique, les dits ambassadeurs de Berne voulurent que chacun dût vivre selon le contenu de leur Réformation, et qu'on ne dût point dire de messe dans vostre maison, mais [que] ceux qui voudront ouïr messe fussent chastiés pour dix livres d'amende, parce qu'ils sçavoient que je ne les punirois pas pour cela. Ce que jamais je ne voulus consentir, mais fis les réserves contenues au dit Départ, et depuis j'ai toujours fait chanter messe dedans vostre chasteau, afin qu'ils n'y contrevinsent. Or je suis averti qu'ils sont nuit et jour pour faire une Réformation.¹

Afin de garder les autres à la messe, aus villages circonvoisins qui sont encore en leur estat, et pour y obvier, j'ay appelé par devant moi les gouverneurs de toutes les justices et paroisses de vostre Comté, lesquels, en présence l'un de l'autre, se sont déclarés de vouloir vivre et mourir sous vostre protection, et vous obéir comme bons sujets doivent faire, sans changer l'ancienne foy jusques à ce que par vous en soit ordonné. Et, pource que par les ambassadeurs leur a esté dit que n'estoit nullement possible que vinssiés par deçà, en sont demeurés fort dolents, et néanmoins qu'ils verront volontiers M^r le Marquis², et, puis qu'autrement ne peut estre, ils feront ce qu'il vous plaira de leur commander par le dit Seigneur, espérans que quand serés de loisir, viendrés pour réhabiliter toutes choses.

Néanmoins, comme il sera nécessaire de faire plusieurs constitutions nouvelles, il sera nécessaire que Monseigneur vienne pourveu de bons conseils et totale puissance de vous, Madame, parce que Messieurs de vostre Chapitre sont ruinés en ceste ville. Ils m'ont prié de leur donner place pour faire le service divin et office, et pour ce ai-je avisé qu'ils se pourront retirer au Prieuré de Vaulx-Travers³, qui leur compète et appartient,

¹ sc. in the rest of the County.

² Francis of Orleans, Marquis of Rothelin; †1548, son of the Countess. He came to Neuchâtel, and took the oath to the burghers, 6 Apr. 1531, in his own name and in the names of his mother, †1543, and his elder brother Louis, †1537. He left in May; and his mother never came again to Neuchâtel.

³ A Benedictine priory at Motiers, in the Val-de-Travers.

jusques à la venue de Monseigneur: pendant lequel temps je les ai souffert jouir de leurs prébendes comme du passé, ou qu'ils puissent se retirer chacun en leurs maisons paternelles ou bénéfices, jusques alors. J'ai aussi envoyé illec [là-bas] les enfans de chœur, pour vaquer au divin office, et ai serré et retiré les reliques, ornemens et tiltres de vostre église dans vostre maison, et ceux de l'Abbaye de Fontaine-André¹ aussi, et fait recouvrer les censes et revenus dessous vostre main, afin qu'opprobre et inconvénient n'en arrive, jusques à ce que par vous, Madame, et Messieurs nos Princes plus amplement en soit ordonné.

No. 237. The Recess of Neuchâtel, 4 Nov. 1530.

Pour pacifier plusieurs noises et débats mus et suscités entre . . . seigneur Georges de Rive . . . de la part d'illustre et puissante dame, Madame la duchesse de Longueville, comtesse de Neuchâtel, gouverneur et lieutenant de la dite comté Neuchâtel d'une part, et les Quatre-Ministres et Conseil et toute la communauté de la dite ville de Neuchâtel d'autre part, à cause de ce qu'aucuns d'iceux dits bourgeois, soutenant la sainte loi évangélique et pure et vraie Parole de Dieu, ont ruiné . . . tous les autels et anciennes images et décoremens de l'église collégiale de la dite ville. . . . Attendu aussi que les prédécesseurs de la dite illustre Dame et Comtesse avaient fait et fondé la dite église, de leurs biens et non par des biens des dits bourgeois . . . ; à quoi une partie des dits bourgeois dirait et répondrait que par la voix du Saint-Esprit et la sainte doctrine évangélique, pure et vraie Parole de Dieu, ils voulaient faire apparaître que la dite messe était abusive et de nulle valeur, servant plutôt à damnation des humains que à salvation des âmes, dont plusieurs et diverses fois remontrances en avaient été faites publiquement aux prêtres et chanoines du dit collège tant par prédications que écritures,² dont jamais n'ont voulu faire déclaration, ains toujours persévèrent en leurs iniquités et papales ordonnances, séduisant le peuple . . . et que . . . par bon respect [ils] avaient les dits autels ruinés. . . . Or est que, entre les dits bourgeois soutenant la messe être bonne et les dits tenant la foi évangélique, plusieurs noises s'émouvaient journellement . . . pour iceux obvier sont comparus de la part de mes dits seigneurs de Berne . . . seigneurs Antoine Noll et Sulpicius Archer . . . et Jacques Trybollet . . . ambes parties se sont

¹ A Prieumonstratensian abbey, about three miles N.E. of Neuchâtel.

² sc. by Farel; cf. Herminjard, ii, p. 295 n°.

condescendues à faire un plus.—Et pour ce que ce dit jour a été fait un plus, par lequel du côté des bourgeois tenant la foi évangélique se sont trouvés dix-huit hommes plus que de l'autre côté tenant la messe, a été dit et accordé . . . que dorénavant en la dite ville de Neuchâtel la messe ne soit célébrée ni dite. . . .

No. 238. Morat reformed with Farel as Pastor, Jan. 1530.

Bern to Farel, 22 Jan. 1530.—Quum nuper subditi nostri Moretenses Parochiani, abdicato papistico iugo, libertatem Christianam amplexati sint, ab hostibus Verbi multos variosque insultus patiuntur¹, eo pacto ut ruina eorum timenda [sit], nisi pastor vigilantissimus illis praeferatur. Tu igitur qui illic fundamenta Verbi fecisti fenestramque aperuisti, totis affectibus ab illis desideraris.² Ob id a nobis precario obtinuerunt ut te tantopere desideratum illis denegare nequiverimus. Quocirca, compositis rebus Aquileiensibus, te illico itineri accingas, Moretenses petas, copiosam illam messem messurus. Hic nuntius comes tibi erit duxque itineris.

No. 239. Tumults at Grandson, 23-4 Sept. 1531.

(a) *From Memoires de Pierrefleur.*—Les Catholiques, priyés depuis huit jours de tout service religieux, 'finalément prîrent cœur et firent sonner la messe, laquelle fust chantée avec armes et bastons . . . le samedy avant la St. Michel [23 Sept.]. Dimanche suyvant [24 Sept.], les prédicans . . . preschèrent trois sermons, l'un après l'autre; quand l'un avoit achevé de prescher, l'autre recommençoit. . . . Les chrestiens, desirans que l'on chantasse la messe et voyans les empeschemens que les dits prédicans leur faisoient, vont enhardir les femmes à devoir entrer dedans, ce qu'elles firent, et entrèrent avec grand bruit. . . . Qui eust du pire ce fust les trois prédicans, qui se nommoient Guillaume Pharel, Marc le Rongneux et George Grivat, lesquels furent merveilleusement mal accoustrez. . . .'

(b) *From a letter of M. de Watterville to the Council of Bern, 28 Sept.*—Les prédicans ont le visage aussi déchiré que s'ils s'étaient battus avec des chats, et l'on a sonné contre eux le tocsin comme pour une chasse aux loups.

¹ sc. from the Catholics of Morat and from Freiburg.

² By letter to Bern from the Council of Morat, 22 Dec. 1529.

No. 240. Toleration of both religions at Grandson and Orbe, 30 Jan. 1532.

Nous les Advoyers et Conseilz des deux villes Berne et Frybourg notiffions par ces présentes, comme soyent esmeuz et estéés beaucoup de différen[d]s . . . entre noz chiers et féaulx soubjects de la ville et terre de Granson¹ . . . ; et c'est à cause que aulcungz maintiènt et veullent ensuyvre l'Évangille et ouyr la prédication de la Parolle de Dieu, et les aultres la messe et les cérémonies de l'Église. Sur quoy avons advysé d'y mettre ordre, remède et mode de vivre, affin que cy-après tous différens soyent évités, et les dicts nos soubjectz vivent par ensemble en paix et repos. Sur ce ordonnons et est entièrement nostre volloir exprès comandement :—

Premièrement, que bonne paix . . . soit . . . entre les dicts nos soubjects de Granson. . .

En après, puis[que], comme dict est, tout le différent est survenuz à cause de l'Évangille et de la messe . . . ordonnons que en la ville de Granson, en l'esglise de moynes,² tous les jours soit annoncée la Parolle de Dieu, sans contrediction, obstacle et ennuys quelconques, à l'heure estable, assçavoir : en temps d'hyver depuys la St Michel jusques à Pasques, au matin de sept jusques à huyt, en esté, de six heures jusques à sept heures. Parreillement, en la dicté esglise seront tenues et dictes, avant le sermon, les mattines et laudes, [et] après, les aultres heures canonicques, la messe, cérémonies et offices de l'Église, comme par avant, par condition que icelles n'empêchent la prédication, ne aussy la prédication les susdictes cérémonies. Les Dimenches et festes, l'on pourra prêcher au cloystre des Cordeliers, aussy une heure après disner, avant les vespres.

Nous vouldons aussy que ung chescung ayt son libère arbitre d'aller au sermon ou à la messe et aultres offices d'Église, et, pour vuïdiance des différens qui sont sur la terre de Granson, avons ordonné que ès parroiches esquelles la messe et les cérémonies sont amandées [i. abolies] par la pluspart des parroichiens, que icelles ne doibvent estre remyses ne relevées ; et eis parroiches out le plus n'a osté la messe, et toutesfois jusques icy la messe et les aultres offices ne sont dits ne observés, que en icelles, sy la pluspart ne veult la messe et les offices de l'Église, que l'on cesse d'icelles, et la Parolle de Dieu y soit annoncée ; et ès parroiches out la pluspart veult

¹ A similar document was addressed to Orbe, Herminjard, ii, No. 371, n. 6.

² The priory church of St. John Baptist.

desmeurer à la messe. et ès aultres cérémonies et offices de l'Église, que cella aussi ayt lieu, et si la moindre part veult avoyr l'Évangille, que cella ne doibt estre dénégué. . . .

Et à cause [afin] que l'une parthie ne . . . moleste . . . l'autre, avons ordonné que celluy ou icelle . . . qui se mocquera de l'autre . . . doige estre myse en prison et détenuz ung jour et une nuit à pain et eau, et avecque cela donner ung escus d'or devant que estre lâché de prison. . . .

Nous avons aussy ordonné, soub la poine susdite, que les prédicants soy dépourtent d'appeller les prestres et leurs adhérans 'meschants, hérétiques, meurtriers, larrons', ne par aultres noms infâmes qui destruisent plus que édifiant. . . . Pareillement, les prestres ne doivent blasmer les prédicants ne leurs adhérans, ains une chescune parthie laysser l'autre en paix et tranquillité. . . .

Aussy deffendons expressément que nulli de sa propre auctorité soyt si hardi de rompre, abbatre, gastéz et destruire les aultelz images et réparations des églises out le plus ne sera faict de prendre la Parrolle de Dieu. . . .

No. 241. The Waldenses, Autumn 1532.

From a letter of Antoine Saunier, pastor of Payerne, to Farel at Morat, 5 Nov. 1532.—Quid in via¹ nobis acciderit accipe. . . . Fratres nos optatos receperunt et populus², cuius primores, a pseudofratribus circumventi, nobis sunt infensi et reluctantur in aliquibus³. Sed Deus suos in viam, cum illi visum fuerit, deducet. Nos docemus ministros et plebem non palam, quae nos libenter audit, et sunt nonnulli qui, solius Verbi veritatis gratia audiendi, veniunt a locis distantibus nempe a nobis itinere duorum dierum. Nondum scholas publicas habemus, sed habituri brevi. Ob id fecimus convenire concilium et communitatem, sed nondum conclusum est.

Fratres tibi omnia felicia precantur, habentes gratiam vel maximam quod ad se nos remiseris. Ad typographum⁴ dati sunt quingenti aurei nummi Martino⁵, ut quam poterit brevis-

¹ Two deputies of the Waldenses visited Farel at Grandson, Aug. 1532, to invite the Swiss ministers to the Synod of Chanforans. Farel and Saunier were deputed to go, and with them went Peter Robert Olivétan, a native of Noyon, and uncle to Calvin.

² The ministers and people of the Waldenses.

³ A section which disliked the decisions of Chanforans in favour of alliance with the Reformed, Ruchat, iii. 559.

⁴ Peter de Wingle, a printer in Geneva (Herminjard, ii, No. 391).

⁵ A Waldensian pastor.

sime imprimatur¹. Cura *Unionem*² bene correctam gallice impressam, nam mire nobis erit utilis. Ego oblitus sum apud te aut Frumentum³ vel Simonem Aquiliensem⁴ aliquot libros; si id tuo sedeat animo, ad me perferendos curabis (nam librorum penuria hic maxime laboratur) cum sarcinulis Olivetani. Da operam ut Biblia corrigantur et ita imprimantur ut tibi a me dictum fuerat, hoc est, gallice characteribus maiusculis, sit altera columna maior; latine vero minutionibus, sit altera minor, ambae in eadem pagella, et litterae indices scribantur in margine, et annotationes, Biblicorum Colinei⁵, nimirum; videntur utiles. . . . Fratribus Paterniacensibus mea vice salutem annuncabis, praecipue Vireto⁶. . .

No. 242. Farel's attempt on Geneva, 4 Oct. 1532.

Au mois d'Octobre après vint à Genève un chétif malheureux Prédicant, nommé Maistre Guillaume Farel, natif de Gap en Dauphiné. Le lendemain de sa venue commença à prescher en son logis en une chambre secrettement, et y assistoit un grand nombre de gens qui estoient advertis de sa venue, et desia infects en son hérésie.

Monsieur le Vicair-general, nommé Amedé de Gingin, Abbé de Bonmont, adverty de cecy, mande à luy tous Messieurs les Chanoines, pour conferer contre les Hérétiques: lesquels advisèrent de mander quérir le dit Prédicant. Il fut mandé de par monsieur le Secrétaire du dit Seigneur, et l'amena à celle heure avec deux de ses compagnons. Et estant devant le dict Sieur Official, qui estoit homme fort sçavant et eloquent, nommé Maistre Guillaume de Vegio, le va interroger qui l'avoit envoyé, et pour quelle cause, et de quelle auctorité. Le pauvre chétif respondit qu'il estoit envoyé de Dieu, et qu'il venoit annoncer la parole. Monsieur l'Official luy dit: Et comment? tu ne monstres aucun signe evident que tu sois envoyé de Dieu, comme fit Moyse au Roy Pharaon, qui monstroient par signe evident qu'il estoit envoyé de Dieu, et quand à nous prescher, tu n'apporte aucune licence de nostre Révérendissime

¹ sc. the Bible in French.

² Sannier's translation of *Unio dissidentium in sacris litteris locorum*, per H. Bodium, *divini verbi concionatorum*, 1532.

³ At Yvonand, where Froment was pastor.

⁴ Simon Robert, pastor of Bex, then of Aigle.

⁵ A Latin Bible of 1527-9, published at Paris by Simon de Colines.

⁶ Peter Viret, 1511-71, born at Orbe, where he was converted, April 1531, and made to preach, 6 May 1531, by Farel. He was one of the few native reformers of French Switzerland (cf. Herminjard, ii, No. 358, n. 9).

Prélat l'Evesque de Genève¹. Jamais Prescheur ne prescha en son Diocèse sans son autorité et bon plaisir : et aussi tu ne porte point habit tel que font ceux, qui ont accoustumé de nous annoncer la parole de Dieu, et le saint Évangile, et toy tu portes l'habillement de gend'arme et brigant. Et comment es-tu si hardy de prescher ? car il est defendu par la détermination de la sainte Église que gens laicz ne puissent prescher publiquement, sur peine d'excommunication, comme il est contenu és Decretales de nostre mère sainte Église, parquoy tu es un deceveur et meschant homme.

Pendant ce procès tous les prestres de l'Église Cathédrale s'assemblèrent devant la maison de M. le Vicaire, qui estoient en nombre environ quatre-vingts, tous bien armez et embastonnez, pour defendre la sainte foy Catholique, et prests de mourir pour icelle, et vouloient de male mort faire mourir ce meschant ; et ses complices, s'ils s'approchoient. Après qu'il fut bien examiné, M. le Vicaire luy dit qu'il sortist de sa maison, et tout en sa presence, et que dedans six heures il vuidast hors de la ville avec ses deux compagnons², sur peine du feu. Adonc il demanda lettre testimoniale pour porter à Berne, comme il avoit faict son devoir de venir prescher en la ville. Il luy respondit qu'il n'en auroit point, et que sans repliquer il eust à sortir tout maintenant, mais il n'osoit pas ; car il avoit bien ouy le bruit que faisoient les gens d'Église devant la porte, craignant qu'ils ne le missent à mort. Quand on vit qu'il ne vouloit sortir, deux des seigneurs Chanoines le vont menacer par grosses paroles, disant puisqu'il ne vouloit sortir de bon gré, et de par Dieu, qu'il sortist de par tous les grands Diables, dont il estoient ministre et serviteur. Et l'un d'eux luy donna un grand coup de pied, et l'autre de grands coups de poing sur la teste, et au visage, et en grande confusion le mirent dehors avec ses deux compagnons.

A celle heure survindrent Messieurs les Syndics, et tout le Guet de la ville avec leurs hallebardes, disant à Messieurs d'Église qu'ils ne fissent aucun mauvais coup, et qu'ils venoient pour faire bonne justice, et sur ce prindrent ce chétif, et le conduisirent : mais ces bons prestres ne s'en pouvoient contenter, et quand ils passoient devant eux, un d'iceux le cuida transpercer au travers du corps, mais un des Syndics le retira par le bras, dequoy plusieurs furent marris que le coup ne

¹ Pierre de la Baume, Prince-Bishop of Geneva, 1522-744. He was absent from Geneva at this time, from 1 Aug. 1527—1 July 1533.

² Saunier and Olivétan.

print bien. Et quand il passoit par les rues, hommes et femmes crioient qu'on le devoit jeter dedans le Rosne. Le lendemain jour de Saint François il fut mis en un petit bateau, et ses compagnons bien matin, de peur qu'ils ne fussent aperceus, et se retira à Montat¹, ville des alliez et desia pervertie de ses prescheurs malheureux de l'Antichrist.

XII

POLITICS IN GENEVA, TO THE ARRIVAL OF

FAREL, 4 OCT. 1532

Geneva², at the end of the thirteenth century, was under the three-fold government of the Prince-Bishop, its lord (Dominus), a vassal of the Empire; his Vidomne (Vice-dominus) or deputy in things temporal; and its burghers (cf. H. D. Foster, 'Geneva before Calvin' in *The American Historical Review* for Jan. 1903: vol. viii. 217 sqq.). But it was surrounded by the territories of Savoy. Count Amadeus V, 1285-†1323, uniting, 1 Oct. 1285, with the burghers to maintain 'villam vestram necnon bona et iura vestra et franchises vestras, cum rebus omnibus vestris' (Spon, *Histoire de Genève*, iii, No. xxiii. 109, ed. 1730), forced the Bishop, 19 Sept. 1290, to bestow the office of Vidomne upon his house (*ibid.* No. xxiv); and Savoy controlled it till 1525.

At the end of the fourteenth century it was the turn of the burghers to win from the Bishop: and the Charter of 23 May 1387 (Oechsli, *Quellenbuch*, ii, No. 109), in confirmation of their ancient franchises, gave them four Syndics of their own election, § 23, and placed the criminal processes of laymen in their hands, § 8.

In the first half of the fifteenth century Savoy resumed its career of encroachment. For in 1401 Amadeus VIII bought up the rights of the last Count of Geneva (Spon, i. 163); and after becoming, by grant of the Emperor Sigismund 1410-†37, Duke of Savoy 1416-34, he figured for a time, 1439-49, as Pope Felix V and secured the bishopric of Geneva, 1444-†51, before his death. In the second half, the Burghers consolidated their power. Possessed already in 1409 of a Great Council for elective, and of a Little Council, later of 25 members, for administrative purposes, they acquired, in 1457, a third Council (later) of Sixty for diplomatic affairs. From 1459 this was appointed by the Little Council. An oligarchy was thus gaining strength at the seat of the Bishopric

¹ On the Lake of Geneva, between Morges and Lausanne.

² For its earlier history see Ruchat, i. 313 sqq., ii. 26 sqq., 283 sqq.

when the authority of the See was weakened rather than advanced by dependence upon Savoy. Three of the grandsons of Amadeus VIII became bishops in succession; Peter, as a child of ten, from 1411-18, John Louis of twelve, from 1460-182 and Francis, 1484-1490. Then two great-grandsons, Philip (afterwards Duc de Nemours 1533) at the age of seven, 1495-1510 and Francis' son John, 1513-122, 'the Bastard of Savoy.' Meanwhile, 1504, Duke Charles III, 1504-153, had seized the temporal rights of the see.

Thus, at the opening of the sixteenth century, Duke and Bishop were related technically as minister to ecclesiastical superior; but actually as master to dependant (cf. MS. of F. Bonivard [1493-1570; from 1514, Prior of St. Victor; 1530-6, 'the prisoner of Chillon']-quoted in Ruchat, i. 317-23). The Reformation had scarce a friend in Geneva when a revolution swept Duke and Bishop away. In 1519 the patriots, led by Philip Berthelier, called, 6 Feb., Freiburg into alliance; whence their name of Eidgenossen¹ (Bonivard, *Chroniques de Genève*, III, c. xxi: vol. ii, 331 sq. ed. 1831). The Duke broke it up, relying upon the Mamelukes, as his party was called (*ibid.*); and, 23 Aug., had [No. 243] Berthelier beheaded (*ibid.*, III, c. xxviii: ii. 360 sq.). But this was to give the burghers a martyr for Genevan liberty; and a patriotic reaction set in. Alarmed for the safety of Piedmont after the Emperor's victory at Pavia, 24 Feb. 1525, the Duke left Geneva (*ibid.* IV, c. iii: ii. 411) on 12 Dec.; and the citizens supported, 8 Feb. 1526, by [No. 244] an alliance with Bern as well as Freiburg² (Oechsl, *Quellenbuch*, i, No. 129; and Spon, iii, No. lx) secured, like Bern, a Council of Two Hundred (Bonivard, III, c. ix: ii. 449) and the civil jurisdiction of the now vacant Vidomnate besides. This last they obtained 15 July 1527 as a concession from [No. 245] Pierre de la Baume (*ibid.* IV, c. xv: ii. 468) their new bishop, 1522-144, 'Idem episcopus dat potestatem syndicis et consiliariis cognoscendi in quibuscunque causis et quaestionibus motis et movendis inter cives et burgenses' (Gaberel, *L'Eglise de Genève*, i, app., 20 n. 3). The Bishop, repenting, left the city (Bonivard, III, c. xv: ii. 474); and, 1528, went over to the Duke (*ibid.* IV, c. xxi: ii. 500), who had seized some of his benefices. On 28 Nov. 1529 the Council of Two Hundred ratified the transference to officers of its own of the powers of the Vidomne (Gaberel, i, app. 22, n. 2); and when, in 1530, the Duke attempted to win back his authority by an attack on the city (cf. Ruchat, ii. 304 sq.), Bern and Freiburg, 10-20 Oct. (Herminjard, ii, No. 317, n. 5) forced him not only to raise the siege but, 19 Oct. 1530, by [No. 246] the Peace of St. Julien (Oechsl, i, No. 138) to pledge them the Pays de Vaud as security that he would respect the liberty of the city.

Geneva was thus well on the way to independence, by the help

¹ i.e. Confederates. Bonivard has 'Eiguenots'; whence, it is thought, Huguenots.

² Bern was aristocratic and protestant: Freiburg was Catholic and democratic.

of Bern, two years before Farel set foot there, 4 Oct. 1532. It was a republic waiting only for recognition; and its bishop had been limited to his ecclesiastical rights.

**No. 243. The beheading of Philip Berthelier,
23 Aug. 1519.**

... Et lors, le Duc voyant que ce nestoit encore faict,¹ à cause que la bande des Eidgnoss lui troubloit toute sa pesche, il s'advisa de dissiper leur compaignie: Et pource qu'il avoit esté arresté, par l'appointement,² que le Duc n'eust rien à innover en l'auctorité et Jurisdiction episcopales, il n'ousa rien faire à son nom, mais en cestuy endroit se servoit de l'instrument de l'Evesque, si depescha le dict Evesque à Genève avec cinq ou six cents compaignons de guerre, pour faire les beaux exploicts que s'en suivent.

Premierement, estant arrivé à Genève, le vingt d'Aoust, ung Samedi, à quatre heures après midy, avec sa bande, à cause que pource qu'ils le tenoient pour leur Prince, on ne luy osoit fermer les portes, il se tint coy ce jour là et le Dimanche en suivant, veillant sus Berthelier, qu'il tenoit pour le belier du troupeau. Lequel, jaoit qu'il fut de ce par plusieurs adverty, n'en tenoit compte, ains ne laissoit d'aller et venir partout comme devant, si que l'on eut dict qu'il ne fuyoit pas la mort, mais luy couroit après.

Si fut rencontré, le Lundy en suivant, par le Vidomne, accompagné de certain nombre de souldars de L'Evesque, à l'environ de six heures, lequel Vidomne le fit prisonnier, de la part de Monsieur de Genève, et luy oustant son espée Berthelier luy dict fièrement: Advisez que vous ferez de ceste espée, car il vous en fauldra rendre compte. Si fut il toutes fois conduit en l'Isle, où il fut enserré et gardé, par ung bon nombre de compaignons de guerre de l'Evesque, tout ce jour: Et ne luy forma l'Evesque son procès selon les libertés et franchises de Genève qui portent que tout laïc, ré de crime, devoit estre remis aux Sindiques, pour luy faire son procès, comme droicturiers Juges de cestuy affaire. Ains constitua ung Prevost pour exercer cestuy office, qu'estoit ung vieillard de Chambéry, demeurant toutes fois pour lors à Genève, qui avoit toute sa vie esté arracheur de dents, et se nommoit Jehan Desbois. Lequel, du commandement de l'Evesque, vint en

¹ viz., that the burghers of Geneva had not given up their alliance with Freiburg.

² sc. with Freiburg.

l'Isle pour examiner Berthelier, mais il ne voulut respondre entre ses mains, disant qu'il n'estoit pas son Juge competant. Et pour se montrer delivré de toute crainte, alla escrire en la paroy de la chambre où il estoit : *Non moriar sed vivam, et narrabo opera Domini.*

L'on luy dict ausy que s'il vouloit demander pardon à Monsieur de Savoye, il le luy donneroit, mais il ne voulut oncques et aima plus cher mourir. Mais le lendemain retourna le Prevost, et avec luy mena toute la bande des compaignons de guerre avec leurs Capitaines, que l'Evesque avoit amenés, qui se parquerent en bonne ordonnance pour garder l'Isle et le pont, occupant icelluy pont, une partie depuis l'Isle gardant Saint Gervais, l'autre depuis le dict lieu jusques à la porte de la Tartasse, et estoient les Capitaines placés en la place devant Nostre Dame du Pont.

Si commença le dict Prevost à sommer de rechief Berthelier de respondre entre ses mains, ce qu'il luy refusa comme devant, et lors le dict Prevost jetta sa sentence, aultant folle que meschante, disant : Que tant pour ses mesfaicts passés, comme pour la desobeissance qu'il faisoit alors à son Prince, il le condamnoit à avoir la teste coupée, son corps estre mis au gibet de Champel, et sa teste en Plainpalais, ses biens confisqués au Prince.

Desquels deux premiers je me deporté de declairer s'il le faisoit avec raison, car cela eut pu tomber en doute, mais du dernier, de la confiscation, c'estoit directement faict contre la franchise, qu'estoit que pour nul crime les biens de personne souffrante ne devoient estre confisqués. Ce non obstant Berthelier eut cela, et, qu'est le pis, luy fut faict present d'ung confesseur et du bourreau. Si ne tint pas grand propos au confesseur. Pour quoy le bourreau le vint saisir, le mena devant la place de l'Isle, où il ne tint aultre propos, fors qu'il s'escria : Ha ! Messieurs de Genève . . . puis se mit à genoux et fut decollé, son corps mis sus une charrette, où estoit ausy le bourreau, tenant sa teste, et fut trainée la dicte charrette parmi la ville, l'accompagnant plusieurs souldars, et alloit criant le bourreau : Veez cy la teste du traistre Berthelier. Puis on porta la teste et le corps aux lieux designés par le Juge. Ses biens (jaçoit qu'ils fussent confisqués) l'Evesque, à la requeste de plusieurs gens, relascha aux enfans, qui estoient encore petits, sous condition toutes fois qu'ils deussent absenter la ville, et n'y demeurer jamais, par crainte qu'ils n'y missent la zizanie, telle que avoit faicte leur père.

No. 244. From the alliance of Bern and Freiburg with Geneva, 8 Feb. 1526.

In the name, &c. Amen.—We the Magistrates, Councillors, and Burghers of the two towns Bern and Freiburg, of the one part; and we the Syndics, Councillors, and Burghers of the town and Commune of Geneva, of the other part, do all to wit, &c. . . .

(1) That we, each town with the others . . . for us and our successors . . . have undertaken and accepted . . . an upright and honest Civic Alliance¹ . . . and have also knowingly received and adopted each other as right and resident Burghers; and further that we have sworn to God and the Saints, with hand uplifted and oath on our lips, each town to deal truly and loyally with the others, to promote their usages, honours, and privileges, to prevent their injury, and to do all that befits true Burghers.

(2) But in order that it may be strictly determined how to show and render help and assistance each to the other, it is hereby agreed and resolved as follows: Whosoever in future, so long as this Civic Alliance lasts, be they one or more, whoever they be or may be, shall, against right and equity, injure or damage . . . the aforesaid Syndics, Councillors, and Burghers, of the town and Commune of Geneva, in body, honour, or goods, its land or people, its lordships, liberties, good customs, and ancient usages, or shall, in any way whatever, attempt or take in hand to attack the same, then we the aforesaid Magistrates, Councillors, and Burghers, in accordance with the oaths we have sworn, shall consider, weigh, and decide whether such aggression, outrage, attack, and other violence, were done against right and equity: and should it then be found, on examination . . . had, that such things were done, against right and equity, with force and against the men of Geneva aforesaid, then we of Bern and Freiburg aforesaid shall be bound to render according to our power to the men of Geneva aforesaid, when so attacked, injured, &c. . . . all needful help . . . and protection; but at the cost and charges of them of Geneva.

(3) In return, we the aforesaid Syndics, Councillors, and Burghers of the town and Commune of Geneva hereby engage and agree with the Magistrates, Councillors, Burghers, and Communes of the towns of Bern and Freiburg, that, should they suffer similar aggression, attack, constraint, and affliction,

¹ Burgrecht.

we will, according to our power, with life and goods afford them help and assistance, at our own cost and charges. . . .

**No. 245. Pierre de la Baume, Bishop of Geneva,
1522-†44.**

Comme avez peu veoir par cy devant, l'Evesque sus toutes choses desiroit estre compris en la Bourgeoisie des deux villes¹, avec ses subjects. Ce qu'il faisoit par deux raisons: La premiere pour faire craindre M. de Savoye, en sorte qu'il ne luy usurpast rien de son bien, tant à Genève comme ailleurs. La seconde, pour garder aussy en crainte ses dicts subjects, pensant bien ce que luy advint, que elle n'estoit faicte sinon pour s'oster aussi bien de dessous son joug que de celui du Duc, car quelque reserve que eussent faict ceux de Genève, de l'auctorité de leur Prince, en contractant la Bourgeoisie, ils ne demandoient fors que d'en estre delivrés entièrement, et à bon droict, car ils estoient aultant ou plus foulés par tyrannie ecclesiastique, comme seculière.

Mais cela faisoit bouillir le pot de l'Evesque. . . .

Si manda premierement Robert Vandelli en Ambassade aux deux villes, pour faire de cela requeste; mais l'on s'excusa sans du tout luy faire refus, ains delaioit on tant seulement, car il y avoit quatre raisons pour lesquelles il n'estoit pas fort agreable aux dictes deux villes: La premiere, pour ce qu'il estoit prebste; la seconde, qu'il estoit Bourguignon et Imperialiste; la troisieme, pour la legereté qu'ils avoient congneue en luy: la quatrieme, pour ce qu'ils scavoient bien, quelque bonne mine que ceux de Genève tinsent, feignant vouloir qu'il fut compris en la Bourgeoisie, qu'ils ne le desiroient pas.

De quoy l'Evesque fut fort marry, mais l'on luy mit en teste de recommander la dicte affaire à Besançon, qui pour quelque aultre alloit par delà. Lequel accepta, mais il en encourut presque l'indignation des deux Seigneuries, auxquelles le nom de l'Evesque estoit aussy execrable que celui du Diable.

L'on estoit en grosse difference alors pour la religion à Fribourg et à Berne, non seulement l'une ville contre l'autre, mais les citoyens d'une chascune ville respectivement, car la Messe n'estoit encore abattue à Berne, jaçoit qu'elle futjà bien esbranlée, et l'on ne haissoit pas moins les prebstres de l'ancienne religion que ceux de la nouvelle, à cause qu'ils disoient eux estre cause de toute la division.

¹ Bern and Freiburg.

Depuis ne pouvant venir par ce moien à la Bourgeoisie, tascha à ung aultre, qu'estoit de se faire Bourgeois de Genève, pensant que ainsi il le seroit de deux villes, bon gré maulgré elles. Il fit assembler ung Conseil General, auquel il fit de belles remonstrances, disant qu'il vouloit vivre et mourir avec la ville : et pour mieux ce donner à congnoistre demanda la Bourgeoisie, laquelle luy fut octroyée.

Après cela, l'ung des Sindiques se leva, au nom du Com-mung, et demanda à l'Evesque qu'il luy pleust donner puis-sance et auctorité au Conseil de la ville, de faire venir devant luy les parties qui seroient en procès au civil et de les ap-poincter sommairement.

A cecy tout incontinent l'Evesque s'accorda et le leur octroya, que fut une chose à luy dommageable, mais au Com-mung de tant plus prouffitabile. Ce fut une entrée pour le priver totalement de son auctorité, comme il est encore main-tenant. Et quant bien il n'eust donné telle auctorité à la ville elle avoit bon droict de la prendre, car luy, ny les aultres Evesques, qui n'avoient esté esleus par le Clergé, à la postula-tion du peuple, ains seulement fourrés au siege par le Pape, n'estoient legitimes Pasteurs, ny Princes, ains tyrans, créés par aultres tyrans. Pour quoy sans danger de l'ame l'on les pouvoit refuser, ou s'ils estoient entrés par volonté, dechasser, et la ville prendre à soi son auctorité, et non pas ung Prince estranger, veu qu'elle estoit franche et libre ; et n'avoit jamais recongneu pour Princes que ceux qu'elle avoit esleus. . . .

No. 246. The peace of St. Julien, 19 Oct. 1530.

. . . And in order to keep this [purpose¹] fixed firm and unalterable, our said gracious Lord of Savoy, on behalf of himself and his successors, pledges and pawns the district known as the Pays de Vaud to the two towns of Bern and Freiburg by way of bond and security, together with all the rights therein which he now has or which he and his may hereafter acquire and possess, without exception or reserve.

XIII

FAREL IN GENEVA, 1532-6

In June 1532 an indulgence of Clement VII was published in Geneva, and turned into ridicule by [No. 247] the Placards (Her-

¹ sc. of not disturbing Geneva.

minjard, ii, No. 382, n. 2; and Jeanne de Jussie, 46 sq.) of 9 June. They were the work of a minority. By decrees of 29-30 June (Herminjard, ii, No. 383, n. 2), by a deputation on 4 July (*ibid.* No. 382) to Freiburg, and by letter, 12 July (*ibid.* 383, n. 3) to the Papal Nuncio [No. 248] the Council disclaimed all sympathy with 'Lutheranism': and Farel had to depart the day he arrived, 4 Oct. But, 3 Nov., [No. 249] Antony Fromment appeared in his stead. He opened a school (A. Fromment, *Les Actes et Gestes merveilleux de la cité de Genève*, 13, ed. G. Revilliod,¹ 1854), and, 1 Jan. 1533, began to preach in the streets (Herminjard, iii, No. 406, n. 1; Jeanne de Jussie, 52).

Next day, 2 Jan. 1533, to satisfy one ally, Freiburg, the Two Hundred resolved 'quod nemo ab inde audeat in domibus et locis privatis neque publicis, nisi licentia Dominorum Syndicorum et Vicarii habita, praedicare' (Herminjard, iii, No. 406, n. 1). But, 20 March, the other, Bern, complained of the treatment of its preachers (*ibid.* No. 411 and n. 4). Geneva thus found itself between the hammer and the anvil abroad; and, 28 March, face to face with riots at home (Jeanne de Jussie, 53; and 241, n.). So, by decree (cf. *Actes et Gestes*, App., p. xxi) of Passion Sunday, 30 March, [No. 250] the Council sought to temporize (Herminjard, iii, No. 414, n. 9). But party strife continued. On Maundy Thursday, 10 April, 'the Lutherans met in a garden to celebrate their Supper' (Jeanne de Jussie, 54; Herminjard, iii, No. 416, n. 26); and, in a riot of 4 May, Peter Werly, Canon of St. Peter's and a native of Freiburg, was slain (Herminjard, iii, No. 416). Taking up his cause, Freiburg, by letter of 29 May (*ibid.* No. 421, n. 1), induced the Bishop to return, 1 July (*ibid.*): but he left the city for good, 14 July (*ibid.* No. 428, n. 2); and contented himself with writing, 25 Sept., to recover his lost jurisdiction (*ibid.* No. 428) and with prohibiting, 20 Nov., false doctrine (*ibid.* No. 439). It was soon the turn of the Bernese to take offence at insults which they alleged to have been directed against them by the Dominican Guy Furbiti, who had arrived, 30 Nov., as Advent preacher (Jeanne de Jussie, 74). They demanded, 17 Dec., [No. 251] the arrest of Furbiti (Herminjard, iii, No. 441, and n. 13) which took place on 24 Dec.; and they let Farel return, 20 Dec. (*ibid.* No. 442, n. 1); but, 24 Dec., [No. 252] Freiburg required that Farel, in his turn, should be silenced (*ibid.* No. 442).

On 1 Jan. 1534 the Vicar intervened with an order 'de non legendis Litteris Sacris nec Sacro Dei Evangelio' (*ibid.* No. 446, n. 6); Bern thereupon sent, 21 Jan., [No. 253] an ultimatum (*ibid.* No. 446), the result of which was, 27 Jan.—3 Feb., [No. 254] the First Disputation of Geneva (*ibid.* No. 453) and, after further rioting, [No. 255] the grant of a church to the Reformed (*ibid.* n. 1, and p. 420; and Jeanne de Jussie, 86), 1 March. A rupture

¹ This edition contains an appendix (pp. i-cc) of extracts from the Registers of Geneva, 1532-6.

ensued with Freiburg, which withdrew from its alliance with Geneva, 14 May (Herminjard, iii, No. 449, n. 3), and turned to the Bishop. Aliying himself, 23 June (*ibid.* No. 473, n. 8), with the Duke of Savoy, on 30 July [No. 256] the Bishop attacked the city (*ibid.* No. 474); and thus, though [No. 257] the Reformed were still in a minority (*ibid.* No. 479) and the Bishop was not yet repudiated, on 1 Oct. it was declared that, 'le Siège de la Justice épiscopale de ceste cité, et en ycelle, a vacqué et vacque à present' (*ibid.* No. 481, n. 5); for he had removed it to Gex, and all was in train for the breach next year.

By the opening of 1535 the parishes of the city, through the demolition, 23 Aug. 1534, of two suburbs with their churches of St. Victor and St. Leger in defence against Duke and Bishop, had been reduced to five—St. Pierre (the Cathedral), Notre-Dame la Neuve (l'Auditoire), la Madeleine, St. Germain, and St. Gervais: though the five convents remained as yet—the Franciscans, the Nuns of St. Clare, the Benedictines, the Dominicans, and the Augustinians (*ibid.* No. 522, nn. 6, 7). A frontal attack soon followed on the Romanist majority; for at, 23 April, [No. 258] the request of the Warden of the Franciscan convent (*Mémoires et Documents de la Société d'Histoire et d'Archéologie de Genève*, xxii, 209; Jeanne de Jussie, 118) where, since 2 April, Farel and Viret had been lodged, and by, 26 May, [No. 259] decree of the Two Hundred (Herminjard, iii, No. 509, n. 9; *Mémoires*, &c., 210) there took place, 30 May—24 June, [No. 260] the Second Disputation of Geneva (*Chronique de Roset*, iii, 35, ap. *Mémoires*, &c., 208 sq.). By default of the party in office, Farel and Viret, for the minority, carried the day and [No. 261] Farel proceeded to complete his victory. On 23 July he seized the church of St. Mary Magdalen (*Mémoires*, &c., 213); on 8 Aug. he preached at the Cathedral, and image-breaking became general (Jeanne de Jussie, 150, 263 sq.); on 10 Aug. he went to the Council and in a 'great speech' (*Mémoires*, &c., 213), the drift of which appears to be preserved in his account of the Disputation (*ibid.* 239), demanded and obtained, 10 and 13 Aug., [No. 262] the provisional abolition of the Mass (*ibid.* 213 sqq.). On the 10th inventories of Convent goods were ordered (*ibid.* 215), preparatory to the dispersal of the Religious; and, 12 Aug., [No. 263] Religious and Seculars were summoned to accept the situation (*ibid.* 215). But they preferred to leave the city (cf. Fromment, *Actes et Gestes*, c. xxxvii) most of them before, 29 Aug., [No. 264] the departure of the Nuns of St. Clare (Jeanne de Jussie, 207).

Events would have moved quicker but for the danger from Bishop and Duke. At last, 10 Aug., [No. 265] Geneva reported its desolate condition to Bern (Herminjard, iii, No. 522). For a time Bern could do little. But she was suddenly set free to act by, 1 Nov., the death of Francesco Sforza, Duke of Milan, and the consequent revival by Francis I of his somewhat fanciful claims on the Duchy. These brought Francis into collision (winter of 1535-6)

with the now Imperialist¹ Duke of Savoy, and led, 24 March 1536, to the French occupation of Turin: and when, to defend his capital, the Duke drew off from Geneva, Jan. 1536, the way was open for Bern, in pursuance of its manifesto of 29 Dec. 1535 (*ibid.* No. 535, n. 4) to occupy Geneva, 2 Feb.; to overrun the Pays de Vaud, Feb.; to release the prisoner of Chillon, 29 March; and to set up the Reformation in the Vaud, 19 Oct., and at Lausanne, 24 Dec. (Ruchat, iv. 389). Of course, Bern asked its price, 5 Feb., the reversion of the Savoyard suzerainty: but it was refused. 'We have endured war against both the Duke of Savoy and the Bishops for seventeen to twenty years . . . not because we had the intention of making the city subject to any power, but because we wished the poor city which had warred and suffered so much to have its liberty' (*Registres du Conseil*, xxix, fol. 12: quoted in *Am. Hist. Review*, viii. 228 sq.). Liberty secured, on 21 May [No. 266] **the citizens swore to the Reformation** (*Calvini Opera*, xxi [= C. R. xlix] 201), and by treaty of 7 Aug. [No. 267] **Bern acknowledged the independence of Geneva** (Spon, *Histoire de Genève* [Preuves, lxi] iii. 359: and for comments, *Am. Hist. Rev.* viii. 229, n. 2).

No. 247. The Placards, 9 June 1532.

(a) *From the Chronique de Roset*, ii, c. 67.—Des placards impriméz du grand pardon général de Jésus-Christ, sur l'arrachement desquels y eut dispute entre les prestres et les Luthériens. Un des chanoines [Pierre Werly de Fribourg] y fut blessé au bras.

(b) *From Le Levain du Calvinisme*, 46 sq.—Au mois de Juin un Dimanche [le 9] matin certain nombre de mauvais garçons planterent grands placards en impression par toutes les portes des Eglises de Geneve, esquels estoient contenus tous les principaux poincts de la Secte perverse Lutherienne, mais des bons Chrestiens furent tantost arrachez. Apres matines des Chanoines, un d'iceux Messieurs Chanoines, comme hardy et bon Catholique, devant ces Heretiques vint arracher le placard qu'ils avoient planté à l'Eglise de saint Pierre, dont ces meschans furent indignés, et un d'eux tira son espee et le frappa au bras, tellement que peu se faillit qu'il ne perdit tout son sang, et en tint longuement la couche et n'y esperoit on point de vie, dont toutes gens de bien le plaignoient: neantmoins par l'aide de Dieu pour l'honneur duquel il avoit exposé sa vie, il en guerit par le bon gouvernement

¹ He had married, 1531, Beatrice of Portugal, sister to Isabella, the wife of the Emperor Charles V.

des Chirurgiens. Le Mardy apres qui estoit Feste saint Bernabé fut faict une voix de trompette que plus nul ne mist tels placards, sur peine de trois tours de corde, et d'estre banny de la ville pour un an.

No. 248. The Council disclaims sympathy with 'Lutheranism', June and July 1532.

(a) *From its decrees*: (a) 29 June: Defendatur magistro scolarum¹ quod non praedicet ulterius . . . nisi habita licentia a Rev. D. Vicario aut Dominis. (β) 30 June: De praedicatione Evangelii. Resolutum quod pro praesenti differat magister scolarum legere Evangelium. Et requiratur Dominus Vicarius quod iubeat per singulas parochiales [ecclesias] et singulos conventus evangelium et epistolam diēi ad veritatem nullis mixtis fabellis nec aliis inventionibus humanis, praedicari. Et vivamus ut fratres unanimis, nullis inventionibus adiunctis.

(b) *From the report* [6 July] *of its deputation to Freiburg*.—Le Jeudi [4 July], fâmes apelés au Consel², là oùd nous esposâmes nostre charge, en leur remontrant les peines, travailx que une povre ville de Genève avoit anduré dempui xii ans an sà et plus, et de la détencion des vyvres dernièrement,³ et comant ung povre peuple de Genève estoit fo[u]lé; et que Leurs Excélances usient [eussent] pitié de nous: et que ilz estoit nous pères, nous protecteurs, que nous avoient protégés, défendus et gardé jusques au présant . . . et . . . que, to[u]chant la lutérierie, voliés vivre et mourir comant nous prédécéseurs. . . .

(c) *From a minute of their reply to the Papal Nuncio*, 12 July.—Litterae Legati ad Sabaudos⁴ fuerunt lectae, et respondetur nuncio verbo tenus, nos velle Christiane et secundum Deum et legem Christi vivere.

No. 249. Antony Fromment arrives and preaches in Geneva, 1532-3.

(a) *From his Actes et gestes*, 3 Nov.—Il est venu ung homme en ceste ville qui veult enseigner à lire et à escrire en François dans ung mois à tous ceulx et celles qui voudront venir,

¹ Claude Bigotier, who had embraced the Reformation. He retired, and was with Farel at Morat, 13 Dec. 1532 (Herminjard, ii, No. 399).

² sc. of Freiburg.

³ In Jan. 1532 the Duke of Savoy had forbidden his subjects to bring their goods to market in Geneva.

⁴ Cf. Herminjard, ii, No. 383, from Chambéry.

petits et grands hommes et femmes, même à ceux qui jamais ne furent en escole. Et si, dans le dit mois, ne savent pas lire et escrire, [il] ne demande rien de sa peine. Lequel trouveront en la grande salle de Boytet près du Mollard à l'enseigne de la Croix-d'Or. Et s'y guérit beaucoup de maladies pour neant.

(b) *From Le Levain du Calvinisme*, 52 sq.—Le lendemain premier jour de l'an mil cinq cens trente deux, apres les sermons ordinaires de Saint Pierre, les Lutheriens menerent leur Idole pour le faire prescher à la grande place du Molard. M. le Vicaire fut adverty, et incontinent manda MM. les Syndics pour les empescher: et envoyerent M. le Lieutenant leur commander sur grosse peine, de se retirer, et leur idole: à quoy n'ozèrent contredire, car ils ne se sentoient encore assez forts. A celle heure MM. les Gouverneurs tindrent conseil pour y remedier, et arresterent que le lendemain ils tiendroient conseil general.

Le lendemain apres avoir proposé devant les Conseillers la pertinacité de ces Heretiques, fut determiné que nullement ne vouloient ceste Secte regner en leur Cité, et qu'absolument vouloient qu'elle fust abolie, et extirpee, et qu'il n'en fust plus prins de question entre le peuple. Et sur ce fut faict un Edict de par MM. les Gouverneurs et Conseillers, que plus prescheur quelconque n'eust à prescher en la cité publiquement ny secretement, sans la licence de Monseigneur de Geneve, ou de son Vicaire, excepté l'ordinaire des Jacobins¹, et Cordeliers², et quelconque celeroit en sa maison et voudroit favoriser, à ceste Heresie, seroit mis à grosse amande: et fut ordonné grosse punition à toutes personnes qui mangeroient chair le Vendredy, et autre temps deffendu de l'Eglise: et par ce moyen fut un peu appaisée la commotion du peuple.

No. 250. The Council seeks to temporize, 30 March 1533.

From Reg. du Conseil du 30 Mars 1533.—Que [nos] citoyens, bourgeois et habitans . . . doibvent dès ici vivre . . . ainsin que avons vescu par le passé, sans faire novellité quelconque, ny de parolle, ny de faict, jusques à ce que généralement soit ordonné de vivre autrement.—Item, que nul ne soyt ouzé, ni

¹ i. e. Dominicans. Cf. Ducange, s. v. 'Iacobini'.

² i. e. Franciscans. Cf. *ibid.* s. v. 'Cordelita'. Jeanne de Jussie and her sisters were Cordelières.

si hardy, parler contre les saincts Sacrements de l'Esglise ; mais en ceste chose soyt chascung laissé en sa liberté, selon sa conscience, sans soy reproucher l'ung à l'autre, soit ecclésiastique ou laïc, chose que soyt.—Item, que nul ne soyt . . . si hardy de prescher sans licence du supérieur et de MM. les Syndicques et Conseil, et que le Prescheur ne doibge dire chose que ne soit prouvée par la Ste. Escripiture. . . .

No. 251. Bern demands the arrest of Furbiti,
17-24 Dec. 1533.

(a) *From the letter of Bern to Geneva, 17 Dec. 1533.*—De quoy ne vous estes contentés, ains, comme maistre Alexandre¹ et Froment, nous serviteurs, nous ont donné entendre et faict le plaintiff ces jours passés, avés donné lieuz à ung Jacobin² de prescher en vostre ville, lequels ne prêche que menteries, erreurs, blasphèmes contre Dieuz, la foy et nous, blessant nostre honneur, nous apellant Juiffs, Turcs et chiens.³ Ce non obstant, avés les dicts Alexandre et Froment, pource que l'ont reprins publiquement, l'ung mis en prison, et puis après banny, soub peine de mort, de jamaix soy trouver en vostre ville, et l'autre, cherché de mayson en mayson : laquelle chouse nous touche cy près, que ne le pouvons ne voulons souffrir.

Et à ceste cause, en vigeur de la bourgeoisie qu'avés avecq nous, vous instantement admonestons, que le dict caffard⁴, lequels présentement est en vostre cité, vuilliés sans nulle faulte arrester, détenir et maintenir, et nous establir journée juridique, sur laquelle enverrons nous ambassadeurs, pour secourir premièrement l'honneur de Dieuz, et après le nostre, puis que [il] s'est vanté et ouffert publiquement de maintenir cella qu'ilz az presché. . . . Aultrement, sy laissés aller le dict Jacobin, nous nous en recourrons sur vous, et vous prendront en cause, et aurons action contre vous, au lieuz du dict caffard. Pour autant advisé à vostre affayre. Et sur cestuy article desmandons aussy vostre responce par présent pourteur, [pour] icelle avoir receue, nous sçavoir puis après conduire et entretenir.

¹ Alexander du Moulin, an ex-Dominican, of Rouen, and now Reformed.

² Furbiti.

³ sc. on 2 December, Tuesday after Advent Sunday.

⁴ See Murray, *New English Dictionary*, s. v. 'Cafard', a word of doubtful origin, meaning a hypocrite. Commonly used to mean a friar ; but not necessarily with the further implication.

(b) *From a minute of the Council, 24 Dec.*—Resolutum quod praedicator . . . curiose detineatur in domo episcopali, et quod hac nocte sibi dentur tres custodes ultra eos tres quos iam habet; et, ea occasione, convenient Domini ordinarii Consilii, simul vadamus cras ad D. Vicarium,¹ requiramus adhuc eum ut praedictorem praedictum sub sua custodia . . . custodiat nobis . . . et, ut cognoscat hoc ipsum non nostro motu actum, ostendatur ei missiva . . . Dominorum Bernensium. Quod si dictum praedictorem detinere neglexerit, accipiantur testimoniales, manente nihilominus custodia praescripta, et tandem Dominis Bernensibus quam graciosius poterit scribatur.

**No. 252. Freiburg requires the silencing of Farel,
24 Dec. 1533.**

Nous avons entenduz comment Farel avecque aultres prédicantz sont en vostre cyté, à la postulation des certains vous cytoyens particuliers.² Messieurs, vous sçavés comment par cy-devant par plusieurs fois vous avons adverti, par nous ambassadeurs et par nous lettres, que la Bourgoisie d'entre vous et nous ne peult souffrir tieulx prédicantz. Et encore de rechief vous pryons yl donner ordre que ne laissés le dit prédicant en vostre cyté prêcher, ny en publicque, ny en particulier. Car sy vous voulés estre de ceste nouvelle loy et annichiller [annihiler] nostre vray ancienne foy, vous advertissons, une foy[s] pour toutes, que [nous] vous quitterons la Bourgoisie; de ce soyés certain; dont, sy vous voulés, yl en pourrés pourvoir. Sur ce vous pryant vostre bonne responce par ce présent porteur, en pryant le Créateur, très-chiers combourgois, vous donner bonne et longue vie . . .

No. 253. Bern sends an ultimatum, 21 Jan. 1534.

Premièrement, touchant le caffard, lequel a presché contre l'honneur de Dieu, en après blessé mes dits Seigneurs en leur honneur, à cause de quoy ilz sont estés occasionés d'envoyer leur ambassade, pour seccourir par droict leur honneur et renommée, [et] pareillement député maistre Guillaume Farel et Viret d'aller conférer avec le dit caffard publicquement, touchant les articles qu'ilz a presché contre évangelicque vérité,

¹ The Vicar did nothing, and, 8 Jan. 1534, Furbiti was transferred from the bishop's to the town prison (Herminjard, iii, No. 446, n. 6). They let him out to dispute 3 Feb., and to preach 15 Feb.; but kept him there till 5 April, 1536 (Fromment, *Actes et Gestes*, App. p. ceiii).

² Jean Baudiehon, de la Maison neuve.

soy ouffrant de les maintenir, ainsin comme plus amplement l'instruction des dits Ambassadeurs de mes Seigneurs de Berne sur les dits et aultres articles contient¹; à laquelle honneste et raysonnable pétition les dits de Genesve n'ont voulusz satisfaire². . . pour autant mes dits Seigneurs de Berne de rechief desmandent que justice soyt faicte du dit cassard, et que [il] responde devant les Syndiques et Conseilz de Genesve, et que iceulx en ayent la congnoissance.

Admonestant les dits Seigneurs de Genesve vouloyr considérer que mes dits Seigneurs de Berne n'ont point faict difficulté de les secourir en leur nécessité, et pour les maintenir de fayre contre le Duc de Savoye; dont ilz ne doybvent fayre refus d'administrer justice contre une singulière personne, comme est le dit cassard. Aultrement pourroit bien suspicionner que n'ont pas affection de soy monstrer comme bons et féaulx bourgeois et vrayz amys, et par ainsi donneront occasion de penser que sont bourgeois qui ne peulvent gayre prouffiter.

Le sourplus entendrés de nous Ambassadeurs, ausquels avons escript nostre vouloir et résolution touchant la Bourgeoisie, payement³ et l'affayre de l'Évangille.⁴. . .

No. 254. The first disputation of Geneva, 27 Jan.—3 Feb. 1534.

From a letter of Haller to Bullinger, 14 March 1534.—

¹ The instructions given 31 Dec. 1533 were much on the lines of the letter of 17 Dec.

² The Bernese ambassadors were received by the Council of Geneva 5 and 7 Jan. 1534, and told 'Ce n'est pas à nous de juger le procès des prêtres. Nous avons un prince qui a établi un official, un Vicaire, un juge des excès et autres officiers. Demandez-leur justice'; and Furbiti also refused to answer save before a spiritual court (Herminjard, iii, No. 446, nn. 5, 6).

³ The 'surplus' was communicated to the Two Hundred by the Bernese ambassadors 25 Jan.: 'MM. de Berne exigeaient sur tous les points satisfaction complète, sinon la Bourgeoisie allait être rompue, et leurs députés persisteraient également à réclamer le paiement de la dette [9000 crowns which Geneva owed Bern] et la punition du moine.' The Council decided to ignore the ecclesiastical authority, and the Assembly 'una voce conclusit taliter esse providendum quod Borgia ipsa maneat'. Thereupon the Syndics communicated the decision to the Vicar 'protestantes quod non intendimus id per nos actum animo Principem, Clerum, franchises nec privilegia quaevis offendendi, infringendi, vel alias quomodocunque eis praeiudicandi; quodque non intendimus id in consequentiam trahi posse nec debere, imo pro hac vice sola, pro Reipublicae utilitate [nos] egisse potuisse'—Herminjard, iii, No. 446, n. 9.

⁴ On 10 Jan. Bern had asked for a church for 'evangelical' worship in Geneva, *ibid.* n. 11.

... Fuit interea monachus quidam Parisinus, insignis Thraso, Doctor totus theologaster. Is religionem nostram et quotquot eam docerent et servarent mire pro concionibus suis proscindens,¹ ab urbis nostrae legatis in ius vocatus: quod cum multis detrectaret (quia iudice ordinario, Episcopo scilicet, careret), tandem Farelli et collegae sui Petri Vireti, doctissimi iuvenis, Neocomensis² ecclesiastae, industria eo adactus, ut rationem cogeretur suae doctrinae et fidei reddere, si non coram tota Gebennensium ecclesia, tamen coram Senatu et Diacosiiis. Egerunt primo de auctoritate Pontificis, num liceat illi extra, citra et sine Scriptura, quippiam statuere et Ecclesiae Dei observandum intrudere, necne. Monachus omnino asserere et multis probare cum attentasset, maxime vero Eccianis argumentis, tandem ab his duobus tertia die convictus est, ut iam suo fateretur ore, coram Senatu et Diacosiiis, se Scripturis probare non posse ciborum, dierum, vestium, temporum et personarum delectum, et alia quaecunque Pontificum et Conciliorum decretis in Ecclesiam invecta essent.

Hinc, legatis iustitiam dici petentibus, a Senatu et Diacosiiis decretum est cum suo ore palam errorem fateatur quatenus ad pulsam campanae in summo templo pro suggestu palinodiam cantet. Monachus cum aegre assentiret, et iam in templo recitandum esset, scheda sibi praescripta, coepit multis conqueri de iniuria sibi illata. Quo indignati legati Bernenses, palam coram plebe, iuxta sententiam Senatus palinodiam exegerunt. Quod cum plebs intellexisset, ruit in monachum magno impetu et clamore, ita quod nisi legati Bernenses miserum hominem defendissent, ab illis in frustra caesus fuisset. Coniectus itaque est in carcerem teterrimum, donec id libens faciat quod Senatus decrevit. . . .

No. 255. The grant of a church to the Reformed, 1 March 1534.

(a) *From the answer of the Council to Bern, 22 Feb.*—Dare locum et cathedram Predicanti suo non est nostrum, sed D. Principis et eius Vicarii qui rem spiritualem regunt. Verum si ipsi locum unum acceperint, profecto sunt potentes, quibus

¹ 'Le dit père,' says Jeanne de Jussie, 79, 'prescha fort constamment, touchant bien au vif ces chiens, disant que tous ceux qui suivent ceste maudite secte, ne sont que gens lubriques, gourmands, paillards, ambitieux, homicides et larrons, qui n'aiment sinon leurs sensualitez, et vivent bestialement sans reconnoistre Dieu ni leurs Supérieurs.'

² Neuchâtel.

resistere non possumus, nec audemus; *propterea boni consulant, et ut sibi melius videbitur faciant. . . .

(b) *From their answer*, 1 March.—Faciant ut sibi placebit.

(c) *From the evidence*, 17 July, of the Lenten preacher of 1534, in the case of Baudichon.¹ Ung jour, que fut (comme luy semble) le second dymenche de caresme, après ce que le dict déposant eust faict la prédication au dict convent des Frères Mineurs [à Genève], en présence et audience de très-grand' multitude de peuple, — incontinent, à l'ysue d'icelle prédication [commencée à 7 heures du matin] survint le dict Baudichon avec certains ses complices. Lesquelz, de leur auctorité privée, commençarent à déclérer aux gens qu'ilz feroient prescher publiquement le dict Farellus le jour mesmes, et pour ce feroient sonner et convoquer le peuple à la cloche, comme il est de co[u]stume. Et de faict, à l'heure mesmes, allarent sonner la dicte cloche, laquelle ilz sonnarent par troys coups.

Et tantoust après, le dict jour, en la mesme église et chaire en laquelle avoit presché le dict déposant, le dict Farellus fit son sermon publiquement, semant sa maudicte doctrine. Et despuis, tous les jours du dict caresme le dict Farellus fit ses sermons en la dicte église et chaire les après-disnées publiquement et au son de la cloche, estant le dict Farellus vestu en homme séculier, avec une cappe à l'espaignolle et ung bonnet à rebras. Es quelz sermons assistoit tousjours entre aultres le dict Baudichon, comme capitaine et directeur, faisant faire silence et donnant ordre à faire renger les gens. . . .

No. 256. The Bishop attacks Geneva, 30 July 1534.

From a letter of Haller, 9 Aug. 1534.—Episcopus Gebennensis, cum suis (ut fertur) cognatis, aut potius stipendiariis, urbem Gebennensem, per contionem Evangelii, cum occupare et in templo forte (?) trucidare pios tentasset,² prodidit Deus hanc suam proditorem, ut uno concursu omnes in urbe cuiuscunque religionis portas occluderent, et quod Episcopus coeperat anteverterent. Ferunt hunc multis copiis integroque exercitu parato hoc attentasse; sed Dominus custodiendo custodivit civitatem. Illic nobis bellum parari augurantur

¹ The preacher was F. Coutelier, Warden of the Franciscans at Chambéry. For Baudichon's case cf. Herminjard, iii, No. 473.

² The bishop, according to Haller, intended to surprise the city during one of Farel's sermons.

omnes. Cupit Dux, iuxta sententiam Paterniaci lŕtam, widunatum suum, possidere,¹ sic et Episcopus suo iure nititur gaudere, cui, ut audio, cum nonnihil negatum sit quod et antea prodere et trucidare conatus sit pios, vi invadere conatur quod iure praetenso non potest. Sic sumus undique temptationibus circumdati. . . .

No. 257. The Reformed still in a minority at Geneva, 1534.

From a letter of Haller to Bucer, 22 Sept. 1534.—S. Nuntium adeptus, qui et a te referret, si quas scriberes literas, nolui te latere rerum nostrarum periculosissimum statum.

Gebennensium exsules² sic turbarunt urbem Genevam ut ex toto orbe, pro sua pusillanimitate, hostes catervatim confluisse sibi viderentur. Conqueruntur quotidie Episcopum, opera Ducis Allobrogum, sic invasurum et oppugnaturum urbem, ut si Bernates non succurrerint, actum sit de illis. Urgent Civilitatem nostram, cui Friburgenses cesserunt. Interim tamen sic divisi inter se, tum ob religionem, tum ob Ducem, ut partes duae Pontifici ac Duci, vix tertia pars nostrae civitati et Verbo faveat.

Si derelinquimus eos, ab omnibus proditores et mendaces accusabimur. Ubi exercitum miserimus, timendum ne Valesiani cum Friburgensibus hunc insequantur, et si aliud non possint, vias tamen sic occupent, ne nostris reditus aut com meatus pateat. Sic inter sacrum et saxum haerentes, tantum eo devenimus ut, missa legatione ad Sabaudum pacem Gebennensium petamus, et si quid ab utraque parte peccatum fuerit, vel amicabiliter vel iuridice per Helvetios, qui priorem belli calamitatem composuerunt,³ transigi permittat. Responsum exspectamus. Deinde delecti sunt 4000 pedites, *mit einem Fehlin*.⁴ Hi exspectant, iam parati, ut Gebennensibus succurrant. Optima pars domi domesticum et Antronium hostem⁵ exspectat.

¹ It had been decided, at Payerne, Dec. 1530, that the Duke might re-assume the Vidomnate at Geneva, if he would swear to respect the liberties of the city. This he declined.

² Forty-four Mamelukes; and the traitors who had tried to open the gates on the night of the Bishop's attack, 30-31 July.

³ sc. by the treaty of St. Julien, 19 Oct. 1530.

⁴ Föhlin, a banner.

⁵ sc. the Catholic Cantons: cf. Erasmus *Adagia*, II, v. 68 'Antronius asinus' (*Opera*, II, 571, Lugd. Bat. 1703).

No. 258. The request of the Warden of the Franciscans, 23 April 1535.

From the Registers of the Councils.—Frater Iacobus Bernard, Ordinis Minoritani, praesentavit quasdam Christianas positiones, de quibus non pauci aberrant, et quas, ut errantes veritatem sanius percipiant, se per publicam disputationem sustenturum, habita a nobis facultate peritos ad hoc ad hanc civitatem invocandi, dixit; et propterea petiit ipsas coram nobis legi et eis lectis facultatem eandem sibi impertiri. Quas per nostrum secretarium legi fecimus, et, eis lectis, nobis matura deliberatione visum fuit eundem fratrem Iacobum quin dictas disputationes habeat impedire non debere, immo disputationem ipsam permittere, et quam permisimus, et, quia virorum ecclesiasticorum fuit maiorem circa ea in studendo adhibere diligentiam, fuit nobis visum et eidem fratri Iacobo dictum quod ipse Dominis de Capitulo S. Petri huius civitatis ea significare debeat.

No. 259. The decree of the Two Hundred,
26 May 1535.

From the Registers of the Councils.—Ibidem fuit loquutum de disputationibus super conclusionibus per fratrem Iacobum Bernardi publicatis, et super eis per maiores voces et resolutionem consilii conclusum et arrestatum quod sive veniant forenses disputaturi sive non, tamen disputatio ipsa per eos qui adfuerint fiat, et non impediatur, cum finis ad quem tendit sit ut corda audientium ab eadem magis de propositis clarificata redeant, et inde reipublicae tranquillitas oriri valeat. Et ut huiusmodi disputatio commodius et quietius fieri valeat, fuit resolutum quod debeant fieri cridae, voce praeconia, de non fiendo tumultu quaestione nec iniuria, quodque omnes, sive forenses sive domestici, libere disputare valeant, addita solita poena. Quae praemissa D. Sindici Presbyteris et Religiosis nuncient et notificent.

No. 260. The second disputation of Geneva,
30 May—24 June 1535.

... Lesdites disputes furent commencées ledit dymenche [30 Mai] au grand auditoyre du convent de Rive publique-ment, présens les députez du Conseil pour garder l'ordre, avec quatre secrétaires.

Les positions maintiennent, en somme, la justification des

hommes par Jésus Christ seul, — le régime de l'Eglise dépendre de la seule parole de Dieu, — l'adoration d'un seul Dieu, — qu'il est suffisamment satisfait pour nos péchez par la seule oblation faite une fois par Jésus-Christ, — qu'il est seul moyenneur entre Dieu et les hommes ; — desquelles résultoit que ceux erroient qui s'attribuoient aucune puissance, pensans estre justifiez par leurs œuvres, — que les traditions humaines et papales qu'on appelloit de l'Eglise estoient pernicieuses, — que c'est idolâtrie et contre Dieu adorer de quelque honneur les saintz ny les images, — que la messe ne sert à nostre salut, ny les prières pour les mortz, — que les saintz ne sont nos advocatz.

Là dessus furent continuées les disputes plusieurs jours avec grande audience. Il y en avoit deux, qui soustenoient le party des prebsters : l'un nommé Caroli¹, docteur de la Sorbonne, l'autre Chappuisi², citoyen de la ville, Religieux du convent de Palais. Tous deux furent vaincuz et en firent confession, suyvant laquelle ont depuis annoncé l'Evangile eux-mesmes.

No. 261. Farel completes his victory, July-Aug. 1535.

(a) *From the Registers of the Councils*, 23 juillet. *Farel*.— Ibidem etiam fuit loquutum de magistro Guillelmo Farello, qui initiavit praedicare in parochia Magdalenes, de quo multi scandalisantur. Super quo fuit advisum quod dicatur eidem Farel quod desistat praedicare in dicta ecclesia Magdalenes, donec aliter fuerit cognitum.

(b) *From Le levain du Calvinisme* [8 Aug.].—Le jour de l'Octave de Petri ad vincula, par un Dimanche ces Heretiques firent de grandes insolences à l'Eglise de saint Pierre, et interrompirent le divin service que Messieurs du College faisoient, ils les battoient, et deschiroient leurs surplis, et firent de grandes injures et villennies, et y prindrent leur possesoire damnable pour prescher, et le lendemain prindrent tous les meubles et thresors, qui estoient estimez plus de dix mille escus, rompirent les Images, et belles portraictures ouvrees de beaux et excellens ouvrages, n'y laissant aucune entreseigne de devotion : et depuis ce jour nul service se faisoit en aucune Eglise de la cité, fors au Convent de sainte Claire, où les

¹ Peter Caroli, a French refugee, expelled from the Sorbonne 1525, from France 1534. He fell foul of Calvin, and returned to the Roman Church, June 1537 (Herminjard, iv, No. 638).

² A Dominican, of the Convent of Plain-palais.

pauvres Sœurs maintenoient tousjours les heures canoniales, mais à portes closes. Les beaux Peres disoient tous les jours la Messe, et beaucoup de gens y venoient secrettement, qui estoit bien dangereux pour les Sœurs. . . .

(c) *From the Registers of the Councils*, 8 Aug.—Ibidem fuit petitus magister Guillelmus Farellus, et interrogatus quare ipse hodie praedicaverit in cathedrali S. Petri cum iam fuerit sibi vetitum ne praedicaret alibi quam in locis sibi solitis. Qui respondit quod miratur quare inquiratur de tali re cum sit sancta secundum Deum et sanctum evangelium. . . . Super quo fuit illi dictum quod non praedicet ulterius in S. Petro, donec aliter resolutum fuerit. . . .

Consilium fuit petitum propter hoc quod nonnulli ex civibus ymagines de S. Petro fregerunt. Super quo fuit advisum quod cras mane debeat congregare consilium.

(d) *From the same*, 9 Aug.—Ibidem fuit advisum de ymaginibus et aliis bonis dirruptis in S. Petro. . . . Fuit ibidem advisum quod debeant poni duo probi homines cum duobus viggilibus qui custodiant templum S. Petri, ne aliquis in eo aliquid furetur, et donec aliter fuit advisum, propter fractionem ymaginum per illos discurrentes heri et hodie factam. Fuerunt petiti Amedeus Perrini¹, Petrus Vandelli¹ et Baudichonus de Domo-Nova¹, qui visi sunt eos qui ymagines dirruperunt conducere, et interrogati nomine ipsi vellent obedire iustitiae. Qui responderunt quod sic, tandem sicuti eisdem dictum fuit de dirruptione per ipsos facta, responderunt quod verum est quod destruxerunt ymagines, tamen in hoc non credunt errasse, cum talia sint contra verbum Dei erecta.

No. 262. The abolition of the Mass, 10 Aug. 1535.

From the Registers of the Councils, 10 Aug.—Consilium Ducentenarium. *Farel. Ymagines. Inventaria.* Iuxta herinum arrestum et etiam ad requisitionem Guillelmi Farelli fuit congregatum Consilium Ducentenarium.

In quo primo intravit dictus Farellus, cum Petro Vireto, Iacobo Bernard et fratre Iacobo []² Cordigero. Magna oratione facta, proposuit sicut fuit facta publica disputa, ad quam fuerunt vocati sacerdotes, ut audirent et sua facta sustinerent, ipseque et eius socii cum eo se paratos obtulerunt sustinere

¹ Patriots who appear as supporters of Farel in 1532 (Herminjard, ii, No. 395). When reform no longer meant liberty but a new discipline, they fell foul of Calvin; and Perrin, 3 June, and Vandel, 6 Aug., were condemned to death, 1555 (*C. R.* xlix. 608, 611 sq.).

² left blank.

omnia quae praedicarunt, etiam usque ad mortem, prout et de praesenti se offerunt se paratos subire mortem, quatenus contra sacras Scripturas aliquid dixerint, et per presbyteros convicti fuerint, nihil de presbyteris requirentes, nisi quod ad Deum convertantur; supplicantes insuper iudicari super disputa prius facta.

Super his omnibus diu disceptato, fuit advisum et maiori voce resolutum quod teneantur consilia diebus extraordinariis, ad quae vocentur sacerdotes, et coram eis proponatur si velint sustinere Missas et imagines, et res bene videatur. Et si compertum fuerit fuisse male actum dirumpisse imagines, tunc advideatur et refferatur. Interim vero ulterius non dirruatur, nec celebretur Missa, donec cognito. Et quod scribantur Dominis Bernatibus praemissa, ut super eorum responsione nos tutius conducere valeamus.

Quia illa herina imaginum dirruptio causat sacerdotibus tales dolores quod verisimile sit ipsos discedere velle et suspicatur ne asportent iura et localia ecclesiarum ab hac civitate, fuit advisum quod omnia bona ecclesiarum inventarisentur¹. . . .

Sicuti decessisset Consilium Ducentenarium, fuit loquutum quod, si cessetur dicere Missas, populus poterit mutinari; propterea fuit advisum quod post prandium congregetur consilium ordinarium et advideatur quomodo erit agendum.

Eodem die post prandium . . . fuit advisum, pro utilitate reipublicae et ne bona conventuum devastentur et deperdantur, quod provideatur de aliquibus probis viris, qui intendant ad inventarizandum et ponendum in tuto bona et iura quae reperiuntur². . . .

No. 263. Religious and Seculars put down, 12 Aug. 1535.

Religiosi.—Fuerunt etiam ibidem petiti Religiosi Conventuum Palatii, Rippae, S. Clarae et D. N. de Gratiis, ut audirent summarium³ disputae in hac civitate factae⁴; de quibus venerunt [*twelve names follow here*]. Quibus fuerunt factae multae remonstraciones de occurrenciis et lectum summarium disputa-

¹ Commissioners are here appointed for the Cathedral. The goods were afterwards used for endowing a hospital, so as to put down begging, by decrees of 29 Sept., 5 Oct., and 14 Nov. 1535 (*Am. Hist. Rev.* viii. 227, n. 2).

² Commissioners are here appointed for the three Convents of Friars—Franciscans (de Rive), Dominicans (de Palais), and Augustinians (de N.-D. de Grâce): and for the parishes of la Madeleine, St. Germain, St. Gervais, St. Croix (the cathedral), and N.-D. la Neuve (l'Auditoire).

³ i. e. Farel's *Recueil et Conclusion*, &c., as printed in *Mémoires*, &c., 217.

⁴ Of 30 May to 24 June 1535.

tionum factarum, et tandem interrogati si ipsi habeant aliquid super eodem dicere, sique velint aliqua exhibere quare imagines tolli non debuerint quareque venerari debeant, et memoria sanctorum haberi, Missae decantari, et aliae cerimoniae observari. Qui quidem Religiosi, unus post alium, responderunt se nihil scire respondere dicto summario disputationis nec contentis in eodem, sed sunt simplices qui solebant vivere ut docti erant a patribus, non inquirentes similia: propterea supplicant et supplicarunt advideri de dimittendo eos in servitio quo fuerunt prius, se paratos inservire ut prius serviverunt, et nostram relationem sibi de eisdem fieri.

Post prandium.—*De disputa. Presbyteri.* Nobiles Amedeus Bandire, Hudriodus du Mollard et Iohannes Phillippin, Sindici, secum nobilibus Claudio Savoye et Iohanne Amedeo Curtet, suis consiliariis, fuerunt ad domum D. Aymonis de Gingino¹ abbatis Bonimontis, decani canonicorum ecclesiae S. Petri, et repertis ibidem reverendis Dominis Michaelae Navis et Conrado Hugonis, canonicis dictae ecclesiae, Dominis Petro Choudeti, vicario ecclesiae B. Mariae Novae, Karolo de Nanto, vicario S. Germani, D. Blasio de Crosa, Guilielmo Canalis, Io. Ludovico Ramelli et aliis presbyteris in magno numero, exposuerunt eis, organo nobilis Claudii Savoye, sicuti Consilium et Sindici civitatis dolent quod res non processerint alio ordine quam fecerint, neominus, cum sint in melius disponendae, fuit adversum quod postquam fuit facta disputa ad quam omnes sacerdotes et alii fuerunt vocati pluries, et etiam voce praeconia, et licet non venerint fuit facta tamen ipsa disputa, in qua multa disputata, de quibus factum fuit unum summarium; et propterea et ut res in melius disponantur fuit adversum quod summarium debeat eis legi, ipsumque eis legere praesentarunt, ut, eo audito, melius advideri possit. Super quibus dicti presbyteri, organo dicti D. Bonimontis et D. Michaelis Navis, se nihil velle audire de dicto summario neque de dictis et praedictis per Farellum, immo velle vivere prout soliti sunt, et propterea supplicarunt se in sua factione dimitti, &c. Et sic res in eodem statu manet.

**No. 264. The departure of the Sisters of St. Clare,
29 Aug. 1535.**

... A ceste parole² s'arresta ferme [la mère Vicaire], et le Sindique³, voyant ceste bande de mauvaise marmaille, par le

¹ The Bishop's Vicar-General.

² An insult flung by the crowd at the departing Sisters.

³ In charge of the escort, conducting them out of the city.

divin vouloir fut iré grandement, et d'une voix furieuse et horrible jura le sang de Dieu disant, s'il y a homme qui bouge, il aura tout à l'heure la teste trenchee sans mercy en la mesme place, disant aux archiers 'Gentils compagnons, soyez hardis de bien faire vostre office, s'il est de besoing'. Dont, par le divin vouloir, furent espouvèntez et rechignant les dents reculerent, et regardoient les Sœurs de loing qui cheminoient, tout tremblant de peur (et n'en faut pas douter) et quand elles furent au pont d'Arve, qui finoit les franchises de la ville, se vont tous arrester; et les uns par mocqueries crioient comme apres nostre Seigneur 'Où est ceste grande noblesse, pour les recevoir, et les tentes et les pavillons pour les garder de la pluye?', et les autres par derision faignant de pleurer disoient 'Helas, Geneve, qui te gardera? tu pers ta lumiere'; les autres crioient à Dieu 'Les souris, elles sont sorties du nid et vont par les champs, comme pauvres esgarees'. Mais les bons pleuroient amèrement à grands sanglots, et mesme le Sindique quand vint à la departie fut meu de telle pitié, qu'il sanglottoit tout haut et larmoyoit amèrement, et toute sa compagnie prenant les Sœurs par ordre, les mettant sur le pont, prenant congé et disant, 'Or à Dieu, belles dames, certes vostre despartie me desplaît,' et disant entre luy (comme un autre Caïphas) 'Hâ! Geneve, à ceste heure tu perds tout bien et lumiere!' Et quand toutes furent sur le pont il frappa ses mains disant 'Il est tout conclu! Or il n'y a plus de remede, et plus n'en faut parler'. . .

Et ceste est la manière au vray de la pitoyable sortie des pauvres Sœurs Religieuses de leur Convent, et de la cité de Geneve, qui fut ce mesme Lundy, jour de Sainct Felix, le 29 d'Aoust 1535 à cinq heures du matin.

No. 265. Geneva reports its condition to Bern, 10 Aug. 1535.

From the letter of the Councils of Geneva to their envoy at Bern.—Très chier frère! Nous receumes le dix de ce moy[s] vouz lettres par le présent porteur, et pour vérité sumes en grand travail et fâcheries et ne sçavons plus comment faire, veu que havons si longtemps entretenu nostre peuple à paroles, sus l'espérance que havons de havoïr ayde¹; et maintenant, [il] est plus esbays que jamais, voyant nostre prise² estre séquestré

¹ sc. in arms, from Bern (cf. Herminjard, iii, No. 517).

² i. e. crops.

et mise entièrement à la main de Monsieur de Savoye par ses chastellains¹, et les vivres ainsin estroictement deffendus, comment escripvons à l'excellence de Messeigneurs (comment verrés par le double), voyans aussi les vendenges qui sont si prest.

Don[t] pouvés panser le damnaige et la désolation. Nonobstant laquelle, ceulx quil [qui] sont de loisir se sont allé[s] battre aux ymaiges, et n'hont rien laissé à Saint-Pierre, ny aux paroches et convent[s] à mettre bas, excepté la chappelle de Rive² et de N. D. de Grâce; et est partout serré [fermé], tant que ne soy dict point de messe.³ Toutesfois (loër [loué] soit Dieu!) c'est esté sans débaté ny émotion. Ce naulmoings ne reste que nous ennemys ne soyent tousjours plus affectionés [irrités].⁴

Pourtant, vous irés devant l'excellence de Messeigneurs, et leurs présenterés la lettre⁵; en après, selon ce que mieulx scaurés faire, leur exposerés nostre[s] griefz et leur requerré[s] ayde et secour[s], pour l'honneur de Dieu, en bonne charité.

[PS.] Vous adviserés s'il sera expédient de compter l'affaire de ces ymaiges devant Messeigneurs, et de la messe,⁶ à cause (comment scavés) que beaucoup de gens la veulent, et ferés comment ha[u]rés meilleur advys.

No. 266. The citizens swear to the Reformation, 21 May 1536.

From the Registers of the Councils.—Le conseil general en cloistre: jouxte la resolution du conseil ordinaire est este assemble le general au son de la cloche et a la trompette ainsi que est de coustume, et par la voye de M. Claude Savoye premier sindicque est propose l'arrest du conseil ordinaire et

¹ sc. of Gex, Pency, Gaillard, and Ternier.

² The chapel, probably, of the Sisters of St. Clare. It escaped till 24 Aug.

³ The last Mass in the Cathedral was said on 8 Aug., the day when Farel preached his first sermon there.

⁴ Politics rather than religious conviction had kept them from sacrificing the existing faith and order sooner. 'Le Conseil . . . avoynt une grande prudence humayne . . . et disoynt: "Si vous mettés bas les images, les messes et toute la Papaulé, comme ces Prescheurs et ceulx qui leur favorisent veullent, certes, pour ung ennemy que vous avés, vous en aurés cent"', Fromment, *Actes et gestes* (ed. Revilliod), 143.

⁵ sc. of the Councils to Bern, and of the same date as this to the Genevese envoy.

⁶ He said nothing: the Genevese had put down the mass without consulting Bern.

deux centz touchant le mode de vivre et apres ce aulte voix est este demande sil y avoit aucungs que sceusse et volusse dire quelque chose contre la parole et la doctrine qui nous est en ceste cite preschee quil le dyent et a scavoir si trestous veulent pas vivre selon levangille et la parole de Dieu ainsy que depuis labolition des messes nous est este preschee et se presche tous les jours, sans plus aspirer ny vouloir messes ymaiges ydoles ny aultres abusions papalles quelles qu'elles soyent. Surquoy sans point daultre voix que une mesme est esté generalement arreste et par elevation des mains en lair conclud et a Dieu promys et jure que trestous unanimement a layde de Dieu volons vivre en ceste sainte loye evangellicque et parolle de Dieu ainsyn qu'elle nous est annoncee veuillans delaisser toutes messes et aultres ceremonies et abusions papales ymaiges et ydoles et tout ce que cela porroit toucher, vivre en union et obeissance de justice. Icy est aussy esté propose l'article des escolles et sur icelluy par une mesme voix est resolu que lon taische a avoir homme a cela faire scavant et que lon le sallarie tellement quil puyse nurrir et enseigner les paovres sans leur rien demander de sallaire et aussy que chescung soit tenu envoyer ses enfans a leschole et les faire apprendre et tous escolliers et aussi pedagoges soyent tenus aller faire la residence a la grande escolle ou sera le Recteur et ses bachelliers.

No. 267. Bern acknowledges the independence of Geneva, 7 Aug. 1536.

From the treaty between Bern and Geneva, 7 Aug. 1536.— Nous l'Avoyer, Conseil et Bourgeois de la Ville de Berne, d'un côté; et Nous Sindics, Conseil, Bourgeois et toute la Communauté de la Ville de Geneve, de l'autre . . .

I. Premièrement. Nous susdits Sindics, Conseil, Bourgeois et toute la Communauté de la Ville de Geneve, voulons remettre et payer sans manquer aux dits Avoyer, Conseil et Bourgeois de la dite Ville de Berne, entre-ci et Noël prochain, les sommes dont nous leurs restons débiteurs, à cause de la premiere guerre, comme on le verra dans le compte et dans notre obligation qu'ils ont entre leurs mains, et de la [les] livrer sûrement dans la Ville de Berne.

Secondement. Nous susdits Sindics &c. . . de Geneve promettons par notre honneur, serment et de bonne foi, pour nous et nos successeurs a perpetuité, que notre Ville de Geneve sera ouverte sans difficulté, à ceux de Berne et à leurs successeurs,

en tout tems, soit de paix soit de guerre, toutes les fois qu'il sera nécessaire. De plus, Nous susdits de Geneve et nos successeurs ne devons, ni ne voulons faire des alliances, traitez, bourgeoisies, ni prendre des engagemens avec aucuns Princes, Seigneurs, Villes, Païs ou Communautéz, ni chercher aucune protection ni secours auprès d'eux, sans l'avis, volonté et consentement des susdits de Berne et leurs successeurs.

En troisieme lieu : Comme Nous de Geneve nous sommes saisis de la Seigneurie de Gaillard &c. . . nous avons cédé et remis volontairement . . . tout ce qui appartenoit ci-devant au Duc de Savoye, hors de nôtre Ville, et tous les biens de nos bannis, situez dans les païs conquis par lesdits de Berne, desquels nous nous déportons entierement.

En quatrieme lieu : Nous susdits de Geneve consentons de laisser en toute propriété aux susdits de Berne toutes les fondations et legs pies faits par la Maison de Savoye, qui sont dans les païs conquis par lesdits de Berne et dont nôtre Ville de Geneve tiroit les Revenus, en sorte qu'ils en seront entierement quittes envers nous.

II. D'un autre côté : Nous l'Avoyer, Conseil et Bourgeois de la Ville de Berne, nous sommes dépouillez pour nous et nos successeurs à perpétuité de la prétention que nous avions contre ceux de Geneve, à cause du Prieuré de St. Victor et de ses droits seigneuriaux, des censes, rentes, revenus, et tout ce qui en dépendoit, parce qu'ils ont incorporé cela à leur Hôpital, pour l'entretien des pauvres et des ministres, nous reservant pourtant les appellations, devoirs d'hommes, et malefices, ainsi que cela a été anciennement pratiqué.

En second lieu : Comme nos deux seigneuries de Gex et de Gaillard, s'étendent jusqu'à la Ville de Geneve, nous consentons de nous retirer, pour étendre la banlieuë de cette Ville du côté de Gaillard et de Gex ; et des députez de notre Conseil en marqueront les bornes par de grosses pierres.¹ . . .

En quatrieme lieu : Sur ce que ceux qui commandoient nos troupes ont demandé dans la dernière guerre, et nous après eux, que ceux de Genève nous missent en possession de la Superiorité, Seigneurie, Droits et Revenus de l'Evêché et de ses dépendances, comme aussi du Vidomnat et des Biens du Chapitre, des Eglises et des Monasteres, estimans les avoir gagnéz par droit de guerre ; Nous avons cependant par bonne

¹ Geneva, by this treaty, was left in possession of twenty-eight villages ; and was thus not only an independent city, but had territories and subjects of its own.

amitié abandonné tout cela, et nous [nous] sommes déportez de bon gré, pour Nous et pour nos successeurs, de cette demande, sans nous y rien réserver en aucune maniere, si ce n'est les appellations, si tant est que ci-devant on en ait inter-jetté devant le Duc, son Conseil ou ses Officiers de Justice.

Lesquels articles ci-dessus écrits, Nous susnommées les deux Villes Berne et Geneve avons reglez et reçus entre nous, promettant pour nous et pour nos successeurs de les garder à perpétuite et inviolablement. En foi de quoi &c. . . .

XIV

CALVIN, TO HIS ARRIVAL IN GENEVA, 1509-36

John Calvin (cf. *Calvini Opera*, xxi [= *Corpus Reformatorum* xlix] containing 'Lives' by Beza and Colladon, both 1564, and the *Annales Calviniani* by the editors: and Williston Walker, *John Calvin*) was born at Noyon, in Picardy, 10 July 1509. His father was a notary in the ecclesiastical court, an official of bishop and of chapter; able, therefore, to give his son a superior education and alive to the advantage of it. Calvin, though by birth 'unus de plebe homuncio' (*Op.* v. [= *C. R.* xxxiii.] 5), was, as he afterwards wrote to a friend of the noble house of Montmor, 'domi vestrae puer educatus, iisdem tecum studiis initiatus' (*ibid.* 8). When barely twelve, he received, after the manner of the day, a benefice, 19 May 1521, in the Cathedral by way of endowment for study: and, Aug. 1523, he went 'gustatis duntaxat latinae linguae rudimentis' (*Ep.* 1345; *Op.* xiii. [= *C. R.* xli.] 525) to the University of Paris. Here he began grammar and rhetoric at the Collège de la Marche under the humanist Mathurin Cordier, 1479-†1564, 'cuius ductu in litterarum stadium ingressus huc saltem usque progressus sum ut ecclesiae Dei aliquid prodessem' (*ibid.*). But he was with Cordier 'ad exiguum tempus' (*ibid.*) only; for next year he went on, for philosophy and dialectic, to the Collège de Montaigu, where (Herminjard, ii, No. 310, n. 7) by the end of 1527 he would have graduated in Arts. Early in 1528, 'pour obéir à mon père' (*Op.* xxxi. [= *C. R.* lix.] 22) he turned to Law; and, in pursuit of it, went first to Orléans to attend the lectures of the conservative Pierre de l'Estoile, 1480-†1537, and thence, 1529, to Bourges. Hither he was attracted by the fame of Andrea Alciati, 1493-†1550, more of an innovator; and Calvin's first appearance in print was the preface to a friend's defence of l'Estoile (Herminjard, ii, No. 328: *Op.* ix. [= *C. R.* xxxvii.] 785). Here too, he began Greek with (*Ep.* 814; *Op.* xii. [= *C. R.* xl.] 364) the German humanist Melchior Wolmar, 1496-†1561. The death of his father, 26 May 1531 (Herminjard, ii, No. 366, n. 4), released him from the Law; and, 19 June, he was back in Paris, free for other studies there since, by 14 Feb. 1532,

he was a graduate in Law. They were the studies of a humanist : pursued at the recently, March 1530, founded Collège de France, under the Regius Professors Pierre Danès, 1497-†1577, in Greek (*ibid.* ii, No. 346, n. 10) and François Vatable, ?-†1547, in Hebrew : and as a humanist he put out his first work, 4 April 1532, on Seneca's *De Clementia* (*Op.* v. [= C. R. xxxiii.] 1 sqq.). But 'late in 1532 or early in 1533' (Walker, 96) he experienced [No. 268] a 'sudden conversion' (*Op.* xxxi. [= C. R. lix.] 21) as he describes it. How far this took him towards his later doctrinal position was, perhaps, as doubtful to himself as to us. On 27 Oct. 1533 he still writes (Herminjard, iii, No. 437) as member of a humanist circle which included Gérard Roussel, 1480-†1550, almoner of Francis I and of 'sa mignonne' his sister Margaret (b. 1492) Queen of Navarre, 1527-†49, and the new, 10 Oct. 1533, Rector of the University [No. 269] **Nicholas Cop** (*ibid.* iii, No. 438). In October the Rector had incurred the anger of the Theologians by disavowing, on behalf of the University, their censure of the Queen's *Miroir de l'âme pécheresse* : and, 1 Nov., in his inaugural address (*Op.* x b. [= C. R. xxxviii.] 30 sqq.) he borrowed not only from Erasmus but also from Luther. Calvin was, at least, partly to the address (cf. Walker, 100 sq.); and, in fear of, 10 Dec. [No. 270] **the King's letter to the Parlement of Paris** (Herminjard, iii, No. 440) for the suppression of Lutheranism the two friends had to flee. Calvin found refuge, in the dominions of Margaret, with Louis du Tillet, parish priest of Claix and Canon of Angoulême (*ibid.* iii, No. 457). On 4 May 1534 he was at Noyon, to resign his benefices in the Cathedral and at Pont-l'Évêque (*ibid.* iii, No. 477, n. 1); later in the year at Orléans, whence is dated [No. 271] **the preface to the 'Psychopannychia'** (*Op.* v. [= C. R. xxxiii.] 170 sq.) his anti-Anabaptist and first theological treatise.¹ Then he went to Paris, to keep an appointment with Michael Servetus, 1509-†153, 'mais le dit Servet ne comparut quoy qu'on l'attendist longtemps' (Colladon, *op. Op.* xxi. [= C. R. xlix.] 57). It was a 'dangerous journey' (*ibid.*), for it fell about the time of, 17-18 Oct., [No. 272] **the Placards** (Herminjard, iii, Nos. 485, 488; Gerdesius, *Hist. Ref.* iv, App. 59 sqq.) of Antony Marcourt against the Mass. Thence to Strassburg; and so, early in 1535, to Basel (*Ann. Calv.*, *Op.* xxi. [= C. R. xlix.] 194). Here he finished the first edition of the [No. 273] **Christianae Religionis Institutio**² with a prefatory letter of 23 Aug. (*Op.* i. [= C. R. xxix.] 9 sqq.) to Francis I. Immediately after the publication of the Institutes in March 1536, he paid a brief visit (*Ann. Calv.*, *Op.* xxi. [= C. R. xlix.] 199) to Renée, Duchess of Ferrara, 1510-†176; and on his return he was, in August, [No. 274] **detained by Farel at Geneva** (*Op.* xxxi. [= C. R. lix.] 23) and, 5 Sept., [No. 275]

¹ Cf. Art. XL of the Forty-two Articles of 1553: 'Defunctorum animae neque cum corporibus intereunt, neque otiose dormiunt.'—Kidd, *Articles*, ii. 291.

² The quotations below, save of the Prefatory Letter, are from his final edition of 1559 (*Op.* ii. [= C. R. xxx.] 31 sqq.).

appointed by the Council to be lecturer at the Cathedral (*Ann. Calv. Op.* xxi. [= *C. R.* xlix.] 204).

No. 268. Calvin's conversion, 1532-3.

From the preface to his Commentary on the Psalms, 23 July 1557.—Conditio quidem mea quanto sit inferior¹, dicere nihil attinet. Verum, sicuti ille a caulis ovium ad summam imperii dignitatem evectus est, ita me Deus ab obscuris tenuibusque principiis extractum, hoc tamen honorifico munere dignatus est ut evangelii praeco essem ac minister. Theologiae me pater tenellum adhuc puerum destinaverat. Sed quum videret legum scientiam passim augere suos cultores opibus, spes illa repente eum impulit ad mutandum consilium. Ita factum est, ut revocatus a philosophiae studio, ad leges discendas traherer, quibus tametsi ut patris voluntati obsequerer fidelem operam impendere conatus sum, Deus tamen arcano providentiae suae fraeno cursum meum alio tandem reflexit.

Ac primo quidem, quum superstitionibus papatus magis pertinaciter addictus essem, quam ut facile esset e tam profundo luto me extrahi, animum meum, qui pro aetate nimis obdurerat, subita conversione ad docilitatem subegit. Itaque aliquo verae pietatis gustu imbutus tanto proficiendi studio exarsi, ut reliqua studia, quamvis non abiicerem, frigidius tamen sectarer. Necdum elapsus erat annus quum omnes purioris doctrinae cupidi ad me novitium adhuc et tironem discendi causa ventitabant. Ego qui natura subrusticus umbram et otium semper amavi, tunc latebras captare: quae adeo concessae non sunt, ut mihi secessus omnes instar publicae scholae essent. Denique dum hoc mihi unum in animo est, ignobile otium colere, Deus ita per varios flexus me circumegit, ut nusquam tamen quiescere permetteret, donec repugnante ingenio in lucem pertractus sum. Eoque consilio relicta patria in Germaniam concessi, ut in obscuro aliquo angulo abditus quiete diu negata fruerer.

Ecce autem quum incognitus Basileae laterem, quia multis piis hominibus in Gallia exustis grave passim apud Germanos odium ignes illi excitaverant, sparsi sunt eius restinguendi causa improbi et mendaces libelli, non alios tam crudeliter tractari quam Anabaptistas ac turbulentos homines, qui perversis deliriis non religionem modo sed totum ordinem politicum convellerent. Ego hoc ab aulicis artificibus agi videns . . . silentium meum non posse a perfidia excusari censui, nisi me

¹ *sc.* to that of David.

pro virili opponerem. Haec mihi edendae Institutionis causa fuit : primum ut ab iniusta contumelia vindicarem fratres meos, quorum mors pretiosa erat in conspectu Domini : deinde, quum multis miseris eadem instarent supplicia, pro illis dolor saltem aliquis et sollicitudo exteras gentes tangeret. Neque enim densum hoc et laboriosum opus quale nunc exstat, sed breve duntaxat enchiridion tunc in lucem prodiit, neque in alium finem nisi ut testata esset eorum fides, quos videbam ab impiis et perfidis adulatoribus scelerate proscindi.

No. 269. Nicholas Cop, Oct.-Nov. 1533.

(a) *From a letter of Calvin, end of Oct. 1533.*— . . . Ad Calendas Octobres, quo anni tempore pueri qui a grammaticis ad Dialectica demigrant exercere se agendis fabulis solent, acta est in gymnasio Navarrae¹ fabula felle et aceto, ut ait ille², plusquam mordaci conspersa. Inductae sunt personae : Regina³ muliebriter nendo intenta, et nihil aliud quam colum et acus tractans—tum Megaera, quo nomine ad M.[agistrum] G.[erardum]⁴ alludebatur, illi faces admovens, ut acus et colum abiiceret. Illa aliquantum reniti et obluctari ; ubi vero Furiae cessisset, Evangelia in manus accepit, ex quibus omnia quibus ante assuevisset et paene se ipsam dedisceret. Denum extulit se in tyrannidem, et omni genere sacvitiae miseros et innoxios vexavit.⁵ Multa eiusmodi figmenta addiderunt, indigna prorsus ea muliere quam non figurate nec obscure convitiis suis proscindebant.

Res in aliquot dies suppressa est, postea vero . . . ad Reginam delata. Visum est statui pessimum exemplum corum libidini qui rebus novis inhiant, si impunitas daretur huic improbitati. . . . Quando auctor sceleris deprehendi non potuerat, proximum erat de iis inquirere qui, cum prohibere possent, permisissent⁶. . . . Hactenus de comoediis.

Alterum facinus ediderunt factiosi quidam theologi aequae malignum, etsi non usque adeo audax. Cum excuterent officinas bibliopolarum, libellum vernaculum, cuius inscriptio *Speculum animae peccatricis*, retulerunt in numerum librorum

¹ The College of Navarre, at Paris.

² Persius, v. 86.

³ Margaret, Queen of Navarre.

⁴ Gérard Roussel.

⁵ Insinuating that the Queen had been responsible for the banishment of four doctors of the Sorbonne (Herminjard, iii, Nos. 417, 418, 422).

⁶ The grand-master and the principal of the College of Navarre. They were both put under restraint.

a quorum lectione interdictum vellent. Regina, ubi rescivit, quæta est apud fratrem Regem, professa se auctorem. Ille per litteras magistris Academiae Parisiensis imperavit ut sibi significarent an librum recensuissent in numero eorum quos iudicassent improbatæ religionis; quod si ita haberet, sibi rationem sui iudicii redderent.

De ea re Nicolaus Copus medicus nunc Rector, retulit ad quattuor Artium Collegia, Medicinae, Philosophiæ, Theologiæ, Iuris Canonici. Apud magistros Artium, inter quos locum dicendi primum habuit, longa et acerba oratione invecatus est in eorum temeritatem qui sibi id iuris in maiestatem Reginae usurpassent. Dissuasit ne se immiscerent tanto discrimini; ne Regis iram experiri vellent; ne in Reginam, virtutum omnium et bonarum litterarum matrem, arma sumerent; postremo ne, hanc culpam in se recipientes, improbitatem eorum alerent qui parati sunt quidvis semper aggredi sub prætextu huius nominis, ut dicant Academiam fecisse quod ipsi, iniussu Academiae, perpetrant. Omnium sententia fuit, factum abiurandum. Idem censuerunt Theologi, Canonici, Medici. . . .

Copus Rector pronunciavit Academiam non agnoscere censuram illam, qualis qualis fuisset; quod libellus censitus esset in libris aut damnatis aut suspectis, non probare neque in se recipere. Viderent qui id fecissent qua ratione se defensuri essent; paratas fore tempore litteras quibus se Academia Regi excusaret, ageret etiam gratias, quod se tam benigne paterno more compellasset. . . .

(b) *From his inaugural address*¹, 1 Nov.—Beati pauperes spiritu, Matth. 5. Principio quis sit huius evangelii scopus, ac quo omnia referri debeant, diligenter est investigandum; quod ex evangelii et legis descriptione, deinde utriusque inter se collatione facile intelligetur. Ergo *evangelium bonum est nuncium et salutifera de Christo prædicatio, quod a Deo patre missus sit, ut omnibus opem ferat, et vitam æternam conciliet. Lex præceptis continetur, minatur, urget, nullam pollicetur benevolentiam. Evangelium nullis minis agit, non impellit præceptis, summam Dei erga nos benevolentiam docet.* Qui igitur pure et sincere evangelium interpretari volet, omnia ad prædictas exigat descriptiones. Quam tractandi rationem qui non sequuntur, nunquam satis feliciter in Christi philosophia versabuntur. . . .

¹ The sentences in italics are almost *verbatim* from one of Luther's sermons of 1522. Cf. August Lang, *Die Bekehrung Calvins*, 49 n. 1, where Luther and Cop are placed side by side.

Videndum nobis est ne Christum hoc loco ab evangelii ratione aberrasse existimemus. Nam praeceptis agere videtur, atque ut pauperes simus, mites, mundo corde, pacifici, praecipere. Quin etiam mercedem nobis proponit, quum praemiis nemo duci debeat, sed gratis operam dare Christo, solam Dei gloriam quaerere, nihil formidine poenae aut gehennae agere. Sed . . . quae praecepta non satis explicate Mosis scripta erant, explicatius docet. Itaque hoc evangelium nihil praecipit, sed Dei bonitatem, misericordiam et beneficia exponit. Ac ne quis miretur quod¹ praemia mercedis nomine comprehendat : Gaudete, inquit, quia merces vestra copiosa est in coelis, aurium operam paulisper nobis accommodate. . . . Quod si simili uti licet. . . . Filii familias totis viribus patri placere nititur, omnia sua officia in illum refert, sed non quae tanta sint ut haereditatem mereantur, quam nihilominus accipit, mercedemque adpellare possis, non quod debita sit sed quod filii erga patrem officia plus satis compenset. Ita merces in sacris plerumque usurpata solet. . . .

No. 270. Letter of Francis I to the Parlement of Paris, 10 Dec. 1533.

De par le Roy. Nos améz et féaulx ! Nous avons entendu le contenu aux lettres que par ce porteur avons accepteez.² Nous sommes très-marris et desplaisans de ce que en nostre bonne Ville de Paris, chef et capitale de nostre Royaume, et où y a Université principale de la Chrestienté, cette maudicte secte hérétique Luthérienne pullulle, où plusieurs pourront prendre exemple ; à quoy de tout nostre pouvoir et puissance voulons y obvier, sans y espargner personne qui soit. Et pour ce voulons et entendons que telle et si griefve punition en soit faicte, que ce soit correction aux maudits Hérétiques, et exemple à tous autres.

A cette cause Nous vous mandons et très-expressément enjoignons, que vous commétez aucuns d'entre vous, pour, toutes choses laissées, curieusement et diligemment eulx enquerir de tous ceulx qui tiennent icelle secte Luthérienne, et qui en sont suspects et véhémentement suspicionnéz, et qui y adhèrent et les suivent, afin que vous procédez contre eulx, sans nul excepter, par prise de corps, en quelque lieu qu'ils soyent trouvéz, et contre les fugitifs [par] adjournement à trois

¹ Here ends the fragment of the address in Calvin's handwriting, as given in Herminjard, iii, pp. 418-20 : *Calv. Opera*, ix, [= C. R. xxxvii.] 872 sqq.

² sc. of 26 Nov., from the *Parlement* of Paris.

briefs jours, prinse de biens et établissement de Commissaires. Et quand à ceulx que avait fait constituer prisonniers, qui sont chargéz de blasphèmes, procédez à leur punition selon l'exigence des cas.

Et, au regard des Hérétiques, Nous escripvons à l'Évesque de Paris ou à ses Vicaires, qu'ils commettent deux de nos Conseillers, tels que adviserez, pour faire et parfaire le procèz d'iceulx hérétiques, sans préjudice de sa juridiction en aultres choses, ny quelque chose que nous avons par cy-devant escrit ¹, — d'autant que, attendu que iceluy délict pullule, à faute d'avoir eu le soin et cure de l'extirper dez le commencement, [il] est besoing que tout promptement par gens d'autorité et nos Officiers cela soit exécuté, qui vous pourront de jour à autre rapporter en quel estat seront les matières, pour en avoir vostre avis et conseil. Si voulons que à ce que dessus soit par vous procédé réellement et de fait par main forte et armée, si mestier est, et [que] Nous envoyez en diligence mémoires nécessaires pour avoir de Nous toutes provisions requises, tant par lettres missives que patentes, pour faire accomplir et exécuter ce que dessus. D'autre part vous envoyons, et aussi au dit Évesque de Paris ou à ses Vicaires, le *vidimus* ² des Bulles ³ qu'il a pleu a N. S. P. le Pape Nous octroyer, pour extirper icelle secte Luthérienne de nostre Royaume.

Nous avons faict par ci-devant expédier lettres patentes sur le faict des Prescheurs, qui ont bien aydé à augmenter la dicte secte ⁴: on Nous a dict qu'elles vous avoient esté présentées, toutesfois que n'y avez donné aucun ordre. Pareillement avons entendu que le Docteur qui a presché certaines propositions ⁵, dont avez faict informations de vostre part, et le Recteur de la sienne ⁶, et que vous aviez envoyé querir pour parler à vous, — quand fut à la salle du Palais, quelqu'un de nostre dite Court vint parler à luy, qui fut cause qu'il s'enfuyt.

Nous, à cette cause, vous mandons et enjoignons vous informer de celluy qui est cause d'icelle fuitte et qui parla au dit Recteur, et le saisissez et constituez prisonnier, et Nous mandez qui il est, afin que Nous vous mandons ce que en voullons estre faict. Il a assez monstré, en ce faisant, qu'il est fort suspect

¹ The letter is dated 10 Dec. 1533, to Jean du Bellay, Bishop of Paris, 1532-51.

² Dated 3 Dec. 1533.

³ Dated 1 Sept. and 17 Nov. 1533.

⁴ Cf. Herinijard, iii, Nos. 418, 422.

⁵ Doctor and Rector were the same, viz. Cop; but the King did not know it.

d'estre du nombre des Hérétiques. Si vous prions que à tout ce que dessus vous marquez et entendez diligemment, et vous Nous ferez service, en ce faisant, très-agréable.

No. 271. Calvin's preface to his 'Psychopannychia', Autumn 1534.

... Siquidem legimus Arabicos¹ fuisse quosdam huius dogmatis autores : qui iactarent animam cum corpore una emori, in die iudicii utrumque resurgere : et aliquanto post tempore, Ioannem² episcopum Romanum, quem Schola Parisiensis ad palinodiam adegerit. Verum saeculis aliquot sopitum, nuper per aliquot ex Anabaptistarum facie excitatum, scintillas emisit. Hae vero longe lateque pervagatae, iustas faces accenderunt : quae utinam pluvia illa voluntaria, quam Dominus haereditati suae segregavit, primo quoque die exstinguantur. Agam autem citra ullius odium, citra privatam cuiusquam contumeliam, denique citra conviciandi procacitatem, ut iure nullus queri debeat se laesum aut leviter etiam offensum esse. Quamquam spectare hodie aliquos licet, insana carpendi, mordendi, sugillandi libidine aestuantes, quos si summo digito attingas, flebiliter deplorant scindi unitatem ecclesiae, violari caritatem. His responsum sit, primum, nullam nos agnoscere unitatem nisi in Christo : nullam caritatem, nisi cuius ipse sit vinculum. Esse ergo hoc caput conservandae caritatis, ut fides nobis sancta atque integra maneat.³ Deinde nulla caritatis offensione hanc disputationem transigi posse : modo tales aures afferant, qualem ego linguam afferre statui. . . .

**No. 272. The Placards against the Mass,
17-18 Oct. 1534.**

J'invoque le ciel et la terre en tesmoignage de verité, contre ceste pompeuse et orgueilleuse Messe Papale, par laquelle le monde (si Dieu bien tost n'y remédie) est et sera totalement desolé, ruiné, perdu et abysmé : quand en icelle nostre Seigneur est si outrageusement blasphemé, et le peuple seduit et aveuglé, ce que plus on ne doit souffrir ni endurer. Mais afin que plus aisement le cas soit d'un chacun entendu, il convient proceder par articles.

¹ Eus. *H. E.* vi. 37.

² Pope John XXII, 1316-†34. Cf. Jo. Gerson, *Sermo i in festo Paschae* (*Opera*, iv. 491 D, ed. Parisiis, 1606).

³ The dread of Anabaptism, and the difficulty of securing purity of doctrine without schism, are characteristic.

1°, à tout fidele Chrestien est et doit estre tres certain, que nostre Seigneur et seul Sauveur Jesus Christ, comme grand Evesque et Pasteur eternellement ordonné de Dieu, a baillé son corps, son ame, sa vie et son sang pour nostre sanctification, en sacrifice tres parfait : lequel sacrifice ne peut et ne doit jamais estre reiteré par aucun sacrifice visible, qui ne veut entierement renoncer à icelui, comme s'il estoit sans efficace, insuffisant et imparfait, et que Jesus Christ n'eust point satisfait à la justice de Dieu son Pere pour nous, et qu'il ne fust le vrai Christ, Sauveur, Prestre, Evesque et Mediateur, laquelle chose non seulement dire, mais aussi penser, est un horrible et execrable blaspheme. Et toutes fois la terre a esté et est encore de present en plusieurs lieux chargee et remplie de miserables sacrificateurs : lesquels, comme s'ils estoyent nos redemteurs, se mettent au lieu de Jesus Christ, ou se font compagnons d'icelui, disans qu'ils offrent à Dieu sacrifice plaisant et agreable comme celui d'Abraham, d'Isaac et de Jacob, pour le salut tant des vivans que des trespassez : ce qu'ils font apertement contre toute la verité de la S. Escriture, faisans menteurs tous les Apostres et Evangelistes : et se desmentent eux-mesmes, veu qu'avec David ils chantent et confessent tous les Dimanches en leurs Vespres que Jesus Christ est eternal Sacrificateur selon l'ordre de Melchisedec.

Or ne peuvent-ils faire entendre à nul de sain entendement, que Jesus Christ et ses Prophetes et Apostres (qui rendent témoignage de lui) soyent menteurs : mais faut maugre leurs dents que le Pape et toute sa vermine de Cardinaux, d'Evesques et de prestres, de Moines et autres caphards diseurs de messes, et tous ceux qui y consentent, soyent tels : assavoir, faux-prophetes, damnables trompeurs, apostats, loups, faux-pasteurs, idolatres, seducteurs, menteurs et blasphemateurs execrables, meurtriers des ames, renonceurs de Jesus Christ, de sa mort et passion, faux-tesmoins, traistres, larrons et ravisseurs de l'honneur de Dieu, et plus detestables que les diables. Car par le grand et admirable sacrifice de Jesus Christ, tout sacrifice exterior et visible est aboli et evacué : et jamais autre n'est demeuré. Ce que je di est tres amplement monsté en l'Epistre aux Hebreux, es chap. vii [26, 27], ix [12], x [10, 18]. . .

2°, en ceste malheureuse Messe, on a non seulement provoqué, mais aussi plongé et du tout abysmé quasi l'universel monde en idolatrie publique, quand fausement on a donné à entendre que sous les especes de pain et de vin Jesus Christ est contenu et caché corporellement, reellement et personnelle-

ment, en chair et en os, aussi gros, grand et parfait, comme de present il est vivant. Ce que la sainte Écriture et nostre foy ne nous enseigne pas : mais est du tout contraire, car Jesus Christ apres sa resurrection est monté au ciel, et est assis à la dextre de Dieu le pere tout-puissant, et de là viendra juger les vifs et les morts. Aussi S. Paul aux Coloss. iii [1] escrit ainsi : 'Si vous estes resuscitez avec Christ, cherchez les choses qui sont en haut, où Christ est seant à la dextre de Dieu.' Il ne dit point Cherchez Christ qui est en la Messe, ou au sacraire, ou en la boite, ou en l'armoire : mais au ciel. Parquoi il s'ensuit bien, que si le corps est au ciel, pour ce mesme temps il n'est point en la terre : et s'il est en la terre, il n'est point au ciel. Car pour certain jamais un véritable corps n'est qu'en un seul lieu pour une fois, occupant certain lieu et place en qualité et grandeur certaine. Parquoi il ne se peut faire qu'un homme de 20 ou 30 ans soit caché en un morceau de paste, tel que leur oublie.

Outre, nous avons infallible certification par la sainte Écriture, que l'advenement du Fils de l'homme, quand il lui plaira partir du ciel, sera visible et manifeste. 'Et si aucun vous dit, Ici est Christ, ou là, ne le croyez point.' Jesus Christ dit, Ne le croyez point : et les sacrificateurs disent, Il le faut croire. Ils chantent bien *Sursum corda*, exhortans le peuple à chercher Jesus Christ au ciel : mais ils font le contraire, en ce qu'ils l'arrestent pour le faire chercher en leurs mains, et en leurs boites et armoires.

3^o, ces sacrificateurs aveugles, pour adjoûter erreur sur erreur, ont en leur frenesie encore dit et enseigné qu'apres avoir soufflé ou parlé sur ce pain, lequel ils prennent entre leurs doigts, et sur le vin, lequel ils mettent au calice, il n'y demeure ne pain ne vin : mais (comme ils parlent de grands et prodigieux mots) par transsubstantiation, Jesus Christ est sous les accidens du pain et du vin caché et envelopé : qui est doctrine des diables, contre toute verité et apertement contre toute l'Écriture. . . . Ausquels tant evidens passages¹, la sainte Écriture dit et prononce expressement estre pain, non point espece, apparence ou semblance du pain. Qui pourra donc plus soutenir, porter et endurer tels moqueurs, telles pestes, et pervers Antichrists ? lesquels comme presumptueux et arrogans, selon leur ordinaire coustume, ont esté si temeraires et hardis de conclure et determiner au contraire. Parquoy comme ennemis de

¹ sc. Mt. xxvi. 26, Mk. xiv. 22, Lk. xxii. 19, Ju. vi. 51, 1 Cor. xi. 28.

Dieu et de sa sainte parole, à bon droict on les doit rejeter et merueilleusement detester. Car n'ayans eu nulle honte de vouloir enclorre le corps de Jesus en leur oublie : aussi (comme effrontez heretiques qu'ils sont) ils n'ont eu aucune honte et vergogne de dire qu'il se laisse manger aux rats, araignes, et vermine, comme il est escrit de lettre rouge en leurs Messels en la xxii cautelle. . . . O miserables, quand il n'y auroit autre mal en toute vostre theologie infernale, si non en ce que vous parlez tant irreveremment du precieux corps de Jesus, combien meritez vous de fagots et de feu, blasphemateurs et heretiques, voire les plus grands et enormes qui jamais ayent este au monde? Allumez donc vos fagots pour vous brusler et rostir vous mesmes, non pas nous, pour ce que nous ne voulons croire à vos idoles, à vos Dieux nouveaux et nouveaux Christs, qui se laissent manger aux bestes et à vous pareillement qui estes pire que bestes, en vos badinages lesquels vous faites à l'entour de vostre dieu de paste, duquel vous vous jouez comme un chat d'une souris. . . .

4°, le fruit et l'usage de la Messe est bien contraire au fruit et à l'usage de la sainte Cene de Jesus Christ, et n'est pas de merveilles : car entre Christ et Belial il n'y a rien commun. Le fruit et le vray usage de la sainte Cene de Jesus Christ est, pour le premier, de considerer comment le Seigneur nous presente de sa part le corps et le sang de son Fils Jesus Christ, à ce que nous communiquions vrayement au sacrifice de la mort et passion d'icelui, et que Jesus nous soit pour nourriture spirituelle et eternelle, et que nous nous en tenions pour asseurez comme il le nous declare et nous en assure par ce saint Sacrament. L'autre point est, de publiquement faire protestation de sa foy : et en confiance certaine de salut, avoir actuellement memoire de la mort et passion de Jesus Christ, par laquelle nous sommes rachetez de damnation et perdition, avoir aussi souvenance de la grande charité et dilection de quoi il nous a tant aimez, qu'il a baillé sa vie pour nous, et nous a purgez par son sang. Aussi en prenant tous d'un pain et d'un breuvage, nous sommes admonnestez de la charité et grande union en laquelle tous d'un mesme esprit nous devons vivre et mourir en Jesus Christ. Et ceci, bien entendu, resjouit l'ame fidele, la remplissant de divine consolation en toute humilité, croissant en foy de jour, s'exerçant en toute bonté tres douce et amiable charité. Mais le fruit de la Messe est bien autre, comme l'experience le nous demonstre. Car par icelle toute conoissance de Jesus Christ est effacee, la predication de

l'Evangile est rejettee et empeschee, le temps est occupé en sonneries, hurlemens, chanteries, vaines ceremonies, luminaires, encensemens, desguisemens, et telles manieres de sorceries, par lesquelles le poure monde est (comme brebis ou moutons) miserablement trompé, entretenu et pourmené, et par ces lousps ravissans mangé, rongé et devoré. Et qui pourroit dire ne penser les larrecins de ces paillards? Par ceste Messe ils ont tout empoigné, tout destruit, tout englouti. Ils ont desherité Princes et Rois, seigneurs, marchans et tout ce qu'on peut dire, soit mort ou vif. En somme, verité leur defect, verité les menace, verité les pourchasse, verité les espouvante : par laquelle en bref leur regne sera destruit à jamais.

No. 273. Christianae Religionis Institutio, 1536.

(1) *From the prefatory letter to Francis I, dated 23 Aug. 1535.*—Cum huic operi manum primum admoverem, nihil minus cogitabam, Rex clarissime, quam scribere quae Maiestatui tuae offerrentur. . . . Verum cum perspicere usque eo quorundam improborum furorem invaluisse in regno tuo, ut nullus sanae doctrinae sit istic locus, facturus mihi operae premium visus sum, si eadem opera et institutionem iis darem quos erudiendos susceperam, et confessionem apud te ederem unde discas qualis sit doctrina in quam tanta rabie exardescunt furiosi illi, qui ferro et ignibus regnum tuum hodie turbant.

. . . Percurre, Fortissime Rex, omnes causae nostrae partes, et quovis sceleratorum hominum genere nequiores nos existima, nisi plane comperias in hoc nos laborare et probis affici, quia spem reponimus in Deo vivo, quia hanc credimus esse vitam aeternam : nosse unum verum Deum, et quem ille misit Jesum Christum. Propter hanc spem (1 Tim. iv) alii nostrum vinculis constringuntur, alii virgis caeduntur, alii in ludibrium circumducuntur, alii proscribuntur, alii saevissime torquentur, alii fuga elabuntur, omnes rerum angustia premimur, diris execrationibus devovemur, maledictis laceramur, indignissimis modis tractamur. Intuere iam in adversarios nostros (de ordine sacrificorum loquor, quorum nutu et arbitrio alii nobiscum inimicitias exercent) et mecum paulisper reputa quo studio ferantur. Veram religionem, quae Scripturis tradita est, quaeque inter omnes constare debuerat, facile et sibi et aliis ignorare, negligere, despiciere permittunt, parumque referre putant quid quisque de Deo et Christo teneat vel non teneat, modo implicita

fide suam mentem ecclesiae iudicio submittat. Nec valde afficiuntur, si Dei gloriam manifestis blasphemiiis pollui contingat. Cur tanta saevitia et acerbitate pro missa, purgatorio, peregrinationibus, et id genus nugis belligerantur, ut sine eorum explicitissima, ut ita dicam, fide salvari fore pietatem negent, cum tamen nihil eorum a verbo Dei esse probent? Cur nisi quia illis Deus venter est, culina religio, quibus sublatis, non modo non Christianos, sed ne homines quidem futuros se credunt. . . . Ideo, ut quisque eorum pro ventre est maxime sollicitus, ita pro sua fide bellator acerrimus. . . .

Nec sic tamen desinunt doctrinam nostram incessere, et quibus possunt nominibus criminari et infamare, quo vel invisam vel suspectam reddant. [1] Novam appellant et nuper natam: [2] dubiam esse et incertam cavillantur: rogant, [3] quibus confirmata sit miraculis: quaerunt, an sit aequum ut contra [4] tot sanctorum patrum consensum et [5] vetustissimam consuetudinem obtineat: urgent, [6] ut schismaticam esse fateamur quae contra Ecclesiam praelium moveat, vel Ecclesiam multis saeculis intermortuam fuisse, quibus nihil tale auditum fuit: postremo, [7] nihil opus esse, aiunt, multis argumentis, qualis enim sit iudicari a fructibus posse, utpote, quae tantum sectarum acervum, tot seditionum turbas, tantam vitiorum licentiam peperit. . . .

(in answer to [6]) Dilemmate suo non adeo vehementer nos premunt, ut fateri adigant: vel ecclesiam fuisse aliquamdiu intermortuam, vel nunc cum ecclesia nobis litem esse. Vixit sane Christi ecclesia et vivet quamdiu Christus regnabit ad dexteram Patris. . . . Adversus eam nulla nunc nobis pugna est. . . . Sed non parum a vero ipsi aberrant, dum ecclesiam non agnoscunt nisi quam praesenti oculo cernant, et eam iis finibus circumscribere conantur, quibus minime inclusa est. In his cardinibus controversia nostra vertitur: primum quod ecclesiae formam semper apparere et spectabilem esse contendunt, deinde quod formam ipsam in sede Romanae ecclesiae et praesulum suorum ordine constituunt. Nos contra asserimus: et ecclesiam nulla apparente forma constare posse, nec formam externo illo splendore, quem stulte admirantur, sed longe alia nota contineri, nempe: pura verbi Dei praedicatione et legitima sacramentorum administratione. . . .

LIB. I. *De Cognitione Dei Creatoris.*

(2) *From the Institutio of 1559:—c. vi. Ut ad Deum Creatorem quis perveniat opus esse Scriptura duce et magistra.*

§ 2 . . . Sic autem habendum est, ut nobis affulgeat vera religio, exordium a coelesti doctrina fieri debere, nec quenquam posse vel minimum gustum rectae sanaeque doctrinae percipere, nisi qui Scripturae fuerit discipulus . . . § 3 . . . Ad Verbum, inquam, est veniendum, ubi probe et ad vivum nobis a suis operibus describitur Deus, dum opera ipsa non ex iudicii nostri pravitate, sed aeternae veritatis regula aestimantur. . .

c. vii. *Quo testimonio Scripturam oporteat sanciri, nempe Spiritus, ut certa constet eius auctoritas: atque impium esse commentum, fidem eius pendere ab ecclesiae iudicio.*—§ 1 . . . Invaluit autem apud plerosque perniciosissimus error, Scripturae tantum inesse momenti quantum illi ecclesiae suffragiis conceditur, ac si vero aeterna inviolabilisque Dei veritas hominum arbitrio niteretur . . . § 5. Maneat ergo hoc fixum quos Spiritus sanctus intus docuit, solide acquiescere in Scriptura, et hanc quidem esse *αὐτόπιστον*, neque demonstrationi et rationibus subiici eam fas esse: quam tamen meretur apud nos certitudinem, Spiritus testimonio consequi. Etsi enim reverentiam sua sibi ultro maiestate conciliat, tunc tamen dēnum serio nos afficit, quum per Spiritum obsignata est cordibus nostris. Illius ergo virtute illuminati, iam non aut nostro aut aliorum iudicio credimus a Deo esse Scripturam: sed supra humanum iudicium, certo certius constituimus (non secus ac si ipsius Dei numen illic intueremur) hominum ministerio, ab ipsissimo Dei ore ad nos fluxisse. . .

LIB. II. *De Cognitione Dei Redemptoris.*

c. i. *Adae lapsu . . . totum humanum genus maledictioni fuisse addictum et a prima origine degenerasse: ubi de peccato originali.*—§ 8 . . . Videtur ergo peccatum originale haereditaria naturae nostrae pravitas et corruptio, in omnes animae partes diffusa: . . . quare qui peccatum originale definierunt carentiam iustitiae originalis, quam inesse nobis oportebat, quamquam id totum complectuntur quod in re est, non tamen satis significanter vim atque energiam ipsius expresserunt. Non enim natura nostra boni tantum inops et vacua est: sed malorum omnium adeo fertilis et ferax, ut otiosa esse non possit. Qui dixerunt esse concupiscentiam, non nimis alieno verbo usi sunt, si modo adderetur (quod minime conceditur a plerisque) quicquid in homine est, ab intellectu ad voluntatem, ab anima ad carnem usque, hac concupiscentia inquinatum referuntque esse: aut, ut brevius absolvatur, totum hominem non aliud ex se ipso esse quam concupiscentiam. . .

c. iv. *Quomodo operetur Deus in cordibus hominum.* § 3. Veteres religiosius interdum simplicem quoque veritatis confessionem in hac parte reformidant, quod verentur ne impietati fenestram de operibus Dei irreverenter obloquendi aperiant. Quam sobrietatem ut exosculor, ita minime periculosum iudico, si simpliciter teneamus quod Scriptura tradit. Ne Augustinus quidem illa superstitione interdum solutus est: quemadmodum ubi dicit [De Praed. et Gratia, §§ 4, 5] indurationem et excaecationem non ad operationem Dei sed ad praescientiam spectare. At istas argutias non recipiunt tot Scripturae locutiones, quae plus aliquid Dei quam praescientiam intervenire clare ostendunt. . . . Similiter quod de permissione afferunt, dilutius est quam ut subsistat. Saepissime excaecare dicitur Deus et indurare reprobos, eorum corda vertere, inclinare, impellere, ut alibi fusius docui [Lib. I, c. xviii]. Id quale sit nequaquam explicatur, si confugitur ad praescientiam aut permissionem. Nos ergo duplici ratione respondemus id fieri. Siquidem quum sublato eius lumine, nihil quam caligo et caecitas supersit: quum ablato eius Spiritu, corda nostra in lapides obdurescant; quum cessante eius directione, in obliquitatem contorqueantur: rite excaecare, indurare, inclinare dicitur, quibus facultatem videndi, parendi, recte exsequendi adimit. Secunda ratio, quae multo propius accedit ad verborum proprietatem, quod ad exsequenda sua iudicia per ministrum irae suae Satanam et consilia eorum destinat quo visum est, et voluntates excitat, et conatus firmat. . . .

c. viii. *Legis moralis explicatio.* . . . §§ 28 sqq. *Recordare diem Sabbati.* § 33. Paulo hic cogor esse longior, quod hodie ob diem Dominicum tumultuantur nonnulli inquieti spiritus. Plebem Christianum quiritantur in Iudaismo foveri, quia retinet aliquam dierum observationem. Ego autem respondeo, citra Iudaismum diēs istos a nobis observari: quia longo intervallo differimus in hac parte a Iudaeis. Non enim ut ceremoniam arctissima religione celebramus, qua putemus mysterium spirituale figurari: sed suscipimus ut remedium retinendo in ecclesia ordini necessarium. . . .

§ 34. Quanquam non sine delectu Dominicum quem vocamus diem veteres in locum sabbati subrogarunt. Nam quum verae illius quietis quam vetus sabbatum adumbrabat in resurrectione Domini finis sit ac complementum, ipso die qui umbris finem attulit admonentur Christiani ne umbratili ceremoniae inhaereant. Neque sic tamen septenarium nu-

merum moror, ut eius servituti ecclesiam astringam: neque enim ecclesias damnavero, quae alios conventibus suis solennes dies habeant, modo a superstitione absint. Quod erit si ad solam observationem disciplinae et ordinis bene compositi referantur. Summa sit: ut sub figura Iudaeis tradebatur veritas, ita nobis sine umbris commendatur; primum, ut perpetuum tota vita sabbatismum meditemur a nostris operibus, quo Dominus in nobis per suum Spiritum operetur; deinde ut pia operum Dei recognitione privatim se quisque, quoties vacat, diligenter exerceat; tum etiam, ut omnes simul legitimum ecclesiae ordinem, ad verbum audiendum, ad sacramentorum administrationem, ad publicas orationes constitutum, observemus; tertio, ne nobis subditos inhumaniter premamus. Ita evanescunt nugae pseudoprophetarum qui Iudaica opinione populum superioribus saeculis imbuerunt nihil aliud asserentes nisi abrogatum esse quod ceremoniale erat in hoc mandato (id vocant sua lingua diei septimae taxationem): remanere autem quod morale est, nempe unius diei observationem in hebdomade.¹ Atqui id nihil aliud est quam in Iudaeorum contumeliam diem mutare, diei sanctitatem animo eandem retinere. . . . Caeterum generalis doctrina praecipue tenenda est: ne religio inter nos vel concidat vel languescat, diligenter colendos esse sacros coetus, et externis subsidiis, quae ad fovendum Dei cultum valeant, operam dandam esse.

c. xvi. *Quomodo Redemptoris partes impleverit Christus*, &c., § 6. Iam et ipsa mortis species insigni mysterio non caret. Maledicta crux erat, non humana tantum opinione, sed divinae Legis decreto. In eam ergo dum tollitur Christus, maledictioni se obnoxium facit. Atque ita factum oportuit, ut omni execratione, quae propter iniquitates nostras nos manebat, vel potius nobis incumberebat, eximeretur, dum in eum traducitur. . . . Quare, ut iusta expiatione defungeretur, animam suam *Ascham* impendit, hoc est satisfactoriam peccati hostiam (ut inquit Propheta, Ies. liii. 5, 11) in quam reiecta quodammodo macula et poena nobis desinat imputari. Apertius id ipsum testatur Apostolus, quum docet eum qui peccatum non noverat, peccatum pro nobis a Patre factum, quo iustitia Dei efficeretur in illo (2 Cor. v. 21). Nam Filius Dei, omni vitio purissimus, iniquitatum tamenstrarum probrum ac ignominiam induit, ac sua vicissim puritate nos operuit. Eodem videtur respexisse, quum tradit de peccato, damnatum fuisse

¹ A view revived in the Westminster Confession, xxi, § 7, which has not followed Calvin on this point.

peccatum in eius carne (Rom. viii. 3). Siquidem peccati vim abolevit Pater, quum in Christi carnem translata fuit eius maledictio. Indicatur itaque hac voce Christum Patri fuisse in morte pro victima satisfactoria immolatum, ut peracta per eius sacrificium litatione, iram Dei iam horrere desinamus. Nunc liquidum est, quid sibi velit illud Prophetæ, positas fuisse in eo nostras omnium iniquitates (Ies. liii. 7): nempe quod sordes earum abstersurus, iisdem per translaticiam imputationem obtectus fuit. . . .

LIV. III. *De modo percipiendæ Christi gratiæ.*

c. xxi. *De electione æterna*, &c., § 5. Prædestinationem, qua Deus alios in spem vitæ adoptat, alios adiudicat æternæ morti, nemo qui velit pius censi simpliciter negare audet: sed eam multis cavillis involvunt, præsertim vero qui præscientiam faciunt eius causam. Ac nos quidem utramque in Deo statuimus: sed præpostere dicimus alteram alteri subiici [*vid.* c. xxii, § 1]. Præscientiam quum tribuimus Deo, significamus omnia semper fuisse ac perpetuo manere sub eius oculis: ut eius notitiæ nihil futurum aut præteritum, sed omnia sint præsentia: et sic quidem præsentia, ut non ex ideis tantum imaginetur (qualiter nobis obversantur ea quorum memoriam mens nostra retinet) sed tanquam ante se posita vere intueatur ac cernat. Atque hæc præscientia ad universum mundi ambitum et ad omnes creaturas extenditur. Prædestinationem vocamus æternum Dei decretum, quo apud se constitutum habuit, quid de unoquoque homine fieri vellet. Non enim pari conditione creantur omnes: sed aliis vita æterna; aliis damnatio æterna præordinatur. Itaque prout in alterutrum finem quisque conditus est, ita vel ad vitam vel ad mortem prædestinatum dicimus. . . .

c. xxiii. *Refutatio calumniarum*, &c., § 1. Hæc vero dum audit humanum ingenium, contineri nequit eius protervia quin velut ad canticum classici varie et supra modum tumultuetur. Ac multi quidem, ac si invidiam a Deo repellere vellent, electionem ita fatentur ut negent quemquam reprobari [*vid.* Bernard. in die Ascensionis serm. ii]: sed inscite nimis et pueriliter, quando ipsa electio nisi reprobationi opposita non staret. Dicitur segregare Deus quos adoptat in salutem: fortuito alios adipisci, vel sua industria acquirere, quod sola electio paucis confert, plus quam insulse dicitur. Quos ergo Deus præterit, reprobatur: neque alia de causa nisi quod ab hæreditate, quam filiis suis prædestinat, illos vult excludere. . . .

§ 4. *Rursum excipiunt, Nonne ad eam, quae nunc pro damnationis causa obtenditur, corruptionem Dei ordinatione praedestinati ante fuerant? Quum ergo in sua corruptione pereunt, nihil aliud quam poenas luunt eius calamitatis, in quam ipsius praedestinatione lapsus est Adam, ac posteros suos praecipites secum traxit. Annon itaque iniustus, qui creaturis suis tam crudeliter illudit? Fateor sane in hanc, qua nunc illigati sunt, conditionis miseriam, Dei voluntate decidisse universos filios Adam: atque id est quod principio dicebam, redeundum tandem semper esse ad solum divinae voluntatis arbitrium, cuius causa sit in ipso abscondita. Sed non protinus sequitur, huic obtrectationi Deum subiacere. Occurremus enim cum Paulo (Rom. ix. 20) in hunc modum: 'O homo, tu quis es qui disceptes cum Deo?' . . .*

§ 6. *Alterum quoque obiectum ab impietate emergit. . . Non ergo iure ob ea puniuntur, quorum praecipua in Dei praedestinatione causa est. Hic abstinere a defensione ad quam fere scriptores ecclesiastici recurrunt, non impedire Dei praescientiam quominus homo peccator reputetur: quandoquidem illius mala, non sua Deus praevideat. . . Si hominum eventa praevideret Deus duntaxat, non etiam suo arbitrio disponderet ac ordinaret, tum non abs re ageretur quaestio, ecquid ad eorum necessitatem valeat ipsius providentia: sed quum non alia ratione quae futura sunt praevideat, nisi quia ita ut fierent decrevit, frustra de praescientia lis movetur, ubi constat ordinatione potius et nutu omnia evenire.*

§ 7. *Disertis verbis hoc exstare negant, decretum fuisse a Deo, ut sua defectione periret Adam. Quasi vero idem ille Deus, quem Scriptura praedicat facere quaecunque vult, ambiguo fine condiderit nobilissimam ex suis creaturis. Liberi arbitrii fuisse dicunt ut fortunam ipse sibi fingeret: Deum vero nihil destinasse, nisi ut pro merito eum tractaret. Tam frigidum commentum si recipitur, ubi erit illa Dei omnipotentia, qua secundum arcanum consilium, quod aliunde non pendet, omnia moderatur? Atqui praedestinatio velint nolint in posteris se profert. Neque enim factum est naturaliter, ut a salute exciderent omnes, unius parentis culpa. Quid eos prohibet fateri de uno homine, quod inviti de toto humano genere concedunt? Quid enim tergiversando luderent operam? Cunctos mortales in unius hominis persona morti aeternae mancipatos fuisse Scriptura clamat. Hoc quum naturae adscribi nequeat, ab admirabili Dei consilio profectum esse minime obscurum est. Bonos istos iustitiae Dei patronos perplexos haerere in festuca,*

altas vero trabes superare nimis absurdum est. Iterum quaero, unde factum est ut tot gentes una cum liberis eorum infantibus aeternae morti involveret lapsus Adae absque remedio, nisi quia Deo ita visum est? Hic obmutescere oportet tam dicaces alioqui linguas. Decretum quidem horribile, fateor: inficiari tamen nemo poterit quin praesciverit Deus, quem exitum esset habiturus homo, antequam ipsum conderet, et ideo praesciverit, quia decreto suo sic ordinarat. . . .

c. xxiv. *Electionem*, &c. . . . § 6. Accedit ad stabiliendam fiduciam alia, quam cum vocatione nostra coniungi diximus, electionis firmitudo. . . . At subit futuri status anxietas. . . . Sed enim ista sollicitudine liberavit nos Christus: nam in posterum certe respiciunt istae promissiones (Io. vi. 37 et 40), 'Omne quod dat mihi Pater,' &c. . . . Hinc etiam magnifica Pauli gloriatio . . . (Rom. viii. 38) quam in dono perseverantiae fundatam esse oportet. Nec dubium est quin ad electos omnes sententiam hanc dirigat. Alibi idem Paulus (Phil. i. 6), 'Qui coepit in vobis opus bonum,' &c. . . . Iam vero neque hoc dubium est, quum orat Christus pro omnibus electis, quin idem illis precetur quod Petro, ut nunquam deficiat fides eorum (Luc. xxii. 32). Ex quo elicimus extra periculum defectionis esse, quia eorum pietati constantiam postulans Filius Dei repulsam passus non est. Quid hinc nos discere voluit Christus, nisi ut confidamus perpetuo nos fore salvos, quia illius semel facti sumus . . .

§ 14. Restat nunc ut videamus cur id Dominus faciat quod eum facere palam est. Si respondeatur, sic fieri quia id impietate, nequitia, ingratitude sua meriti sunt homines: bene id quidem et vere dicitur; sed quia nondum patet istius varietatis ratio, cur aliis in obedientiam flexis, isti obdurati persistent: in ea excutienda, necessario ad illud quod ex Mose annotavit Paulus transeundum erit: nempe 'quod ab initio eos excitavit Dominus ut ostenderet nomen suum in universa terra' (Rom. ix. 17). Quod igitur sibi patefacto Dei verbo non obtemperant reprobi, probe id in malitiam pravitatemque cordis eorum reii-ciatur, modo simul adiciatur, ideo in hanc pravitatem addictos quia iusto sed inscrutabili Dei iudicio suscitati sunt ad gloriam eius sua damnatione illustrandam. . . .

L.IB. IV. *De externis Mediis.*

c. i. *De vera Ecclesia*, § 1. Fide Evangelii Christum fieri nostrum, et allatae ab eo salutis aeternaeque beatitudinis nos fieri participes, proximo libro expositum fuit. Quia autem ru-

ditas nostra et segnitie (addo etiam inganii vanitatem) externis subsidiis indigent, quibus fides in nobis et gignatur et augetur, et suos faciat progressus usque ad metam: ea quoque Deus addidit, quo infirmitati nostrae consuleret: atque ut vigeret Evangelii praedicatio, thesaurum hunc apud ecclesiam deposuit. Pastores instituit ac doctores, quorum ore suos doceret (Eph. iv. 11): eos auctoritate instruxit: nihil denique omisit quod ad sanctum fidei consensum et rectum ordinem faceret. Imprimis sacramenta instituit, quae nos experimento sentimus plus quam utilia esse adiumenta ad fovendam et confirmandam fidem. . . . Incipiam autem ab ecclesia, in cuius sinum aggregari vult Deus filios suos, non modo ut eius opera et ministerio alantur, quamdiu infantes sunt ac pueri, sed cura etiam materna regantur donec adolescant, ac tandem perveniant ad fidei metam. Haec enim quae Deus coniunxit separari fas non est (Marc. x. 9), ut quibus ipse est Pater, ecclesia etiam mater sit: neque id sub Lege modo, sed etiam post Christi adventum, teste Paulo (Gal. iv. 26), qui novae et coelestis Hierosolymae nos esse filios docet.

§ 4. Verum quia nunc de visibili ecclesia disserere propositum est, discamus vel uno Matris elogio quam utilis sit nobis eius cognitio, imo necessaria: quando non alius est in vitam ingressus, nisi nos ipsa concipiat in utero, nisi pariat, nisi nos alat suis uberibus, denique sub custodia et gubernatione sua nos tueatur, donec exuti carne mortali similes erimus angelis (Matt. xxii. 30). Neque enim patitur nostra infirmitas a schola nos dimitti donec toto vitae cursu discipuli fuerimus. Adde quod extra eius gremium nulla est speranda peccatorum remissio, nec ulla salus . . . ut semper exitialis sit ab ecclesia secessio.

§ 9. Hinc nascitur nobis et emergit conspicua oculis nostris ecclesiae facies. Ubicunque enim Dei verbum sincere praedicari atque audiri, ubi sacramenta ex Christi instituto administrari videmus, illic aliquam esse Dei ecclesiam nullo modo ambigendum est: quando eius promissio fallere non potest (Matt. xviii. 20) 'Ubicunque duo aut tres', &c.

§ 10. . . . cuius [ecclesiae] vel auctoritatem spernere, vel monita respicere, vel consiliis refragari, vel castigationes ludere, nemini impune licet: multo minus ab ea deficere, ac eius abrumpere unitatem. . . . Unde sequitur discessionem ab ecclesia Dei et Christi abnegationem esse. . . .

c. iii. *De ecclesiae Doctoribus et Ministris*, &c. § 4. Qui ecclesiae regimini secundum Christi institutionem praesunt, nominantur a Paulo (Eph. iv. 11), primum *Apostoli*, deinde *Pro-*

phetae, tertio *Evangelistae*, quarto *Pastores*, postremo *Doctores*. Ex quibus duo tantum ultimi ordinarium in ecclesia munus habent: alios tres initio regni sui Dominus excitavit: et suscitavit etiam interdum, prout temporum necessitas postulat. . . . Tres illae functiones non ideo institutae in ecclesia fuerunt ut perpetuae forent, sed ad id modo tempus quo erigendae erant ecclesiae, ubi nullae ante fuerant, vel certe a Mose ad Christum traducendae. Quanquam non nego quin Apostolos postea quoque, vel saltem eorum loco Evangelistas interdum excitavit Deus, ut nostro tempore factum est. Talibus enim qui ecclesiam ab Antichristi defectione reducerent, opus fuit. Munus tamen ipsum nihilominus extraordinarium appello, quia in ecclesiis rite constitutis locum non habet. Sequuntur *Pastores* ac *Doctores*, quibus carere nunquam potest ecclesia: inter quos hoc discriminis esse puto quod Doctores nec disciplinae nec sacramentorum administrationi nec monitionibus aut exhortationibus praesunt, sed Scripturae tantum interpretationi: ut sincera sanaque doctrina inter fideles retineatur. Pastorale autem munus haec omnia in se continet.

§ 8. Caeterum quod episcopos et presbyteros et pastores et ministros promiscue vocavi qui ecclesias regunt, id feci ex Scripturae usu, quae vocabula ista confundit: quicumque enim Verbi ministerio funguntur, iis titulum episcoporum tribuit. . . . Hic iam observandum est nos hactenus nonnisi ea officia recensuisse, quae in Verbi ministerio consistunt: nec de aliis Paulus meminit illo quarto ad Ephesios capite quod citavimus. Verum in Rom. xii. 7 et 1 Cor. xii. 28 alia enumerat ut potestates, donum sanationum, interpretationem, gubernationem, pauperum curationem. Ex quibus quae temporaria fuerunt omitto: quia nullum operae pretium est in eis immorari. Duo autem sunt quae perpetuo manent: gubernatio et cura pauperum. Gubernatores fuisse existimo seniores e plebe delectos, qui censurae morum et exercendae disciplinae una cum episcopis praessent. Neque enim secus interpretari queas quod dicit Rom. xii. 8, 'Qui praeest, id faciat in sollicitudine.' Habuit igitur ab initio unaquaeque ecclesia suum Senatum, conscriptum ex viris piis, gravibus et sanctis: penes quem erat illa, de qua postea loquemur, iurisdictio in corrigendis vitiis. Porro eiusmodi ordinem non unius saeculi fuisse, experientia ipsa declarat. Est igitur et hoc gubernationis munus saeculis omnibus necessarium. . . .

§ 9. Cura pauperum diaconis mandata fuit. . . .

§ 15. Quaeritur nunc a tota ecclesia eligi debeat minister,

an a collegis tantum et senioribus, qui censurae praesunt, an vero unius auctoritate constitui possit. . . . Habenus ergo esse hanc ex Verbo Dei (Act. vi. 2) legitimam ministri vocationem, ubi ex populi consensu et approbatione creantur¹ qui visi fuerint idonei. Praeesse autem electioni debere alios pastores, ne quid vel per levitatem, vel per mala studia, vel per tumultum a multitudine peccetur.

§ 16. Superest ritus ordinandi. . . . Constat autem Apostolos non alia ceremonia usos esse, quam aliquem ministerio admovebant, quam manuum impositione.² . . . Licet autem nullum exstet certum praeceptum de manuum impositione, quia tamen fuisse in perpetuo usu Apostolis videmus, illa tam accurata eorum observatio praecepti vice nobis esse debet. . . . Hoc postremo habendum est, non universam multitudinem manus imposuisse suis ministris, sed solos pastores. Quamquam incertum est an plures semper manus imposuerint necne (Act. vi. 6, xiii. 3; 2 Tim. i. 6).

c. xiv. *De Sacramentis*, § 1. Praedicationi Evangelii aliud affine est fidei nostrae adiumentum in Sacramentis: de quibus certam aliquam doctrinam tradi, magnopere nostra refert, unde nos et quem in finem instituta fuerint, et quis eorum nunc usus sit, discamus. Principio animadvertere convenit quid sit Sacramentum. Videtur autem mihi haec simplex et propria fore definitio, si dixerimus externum esse symbolum, quo benevolentiae erga nos suae promissiones conscientis nostris Dominus obsignat, ad sustinendam fidei nostrae imbecillitatem: et nos vicissim pietatem erga eum nostram tam coram eo et angelis quam apud homines testamur. Licet etiam maiore compendio aliter definire: ut vocetur divinae in nos gratiae testimonium externo signo confirmatum, cum mutua nostra erga ipsum pietatis testificatione.³ Utramlibet ex his definitionibus eligas, ab illa Augustini, quae sacramentum esse tradit rei sacrae visibile signum, aut invisibilis

¹ This was Calvin's theory. In practice, election gave way to appointment. Cf. *Les Ordonnances ecclésiastiques* (*Opera* X a [= C. R. xxxviii.] 17, and *infra*, No. 302).

² This was abandoned in Geneva as superstitious by *Les Ordonnances* (*ibid.* 18, and *infra*, No. 302), and in Scotland rejected with contempt by the *First Book of Discipline*, 1560 (*infra*, No. 350), but reintroduced by the *Second*, 1578.

³ Zwingli's sacramental teaching was thus abhorrent to Calvin. Cf. *Inst.* iv. xiv. 13, and, 11 Sept. 1542, his letter to Viret, 'In scriptis prioribus [Zwinglii] meminimus quam profana sit de sacramentis doctrina' (Herminjard, viii, No. 1156).

gratiae visibilem formam, sensu nihil differt ; rem vero ipsam melius ac certius explicat.

c. xvii. *De Sacra Christi Coena*, § 10. . . . Iam sacram illam carnis et sanguinis sui communicationem, qua vitam suam in nos transfundit Christus, non secus ac si in ossa et medullas penetraret, in Coena etiam testatur et obsignat ; et quidem non obiecto inani aut vacuo signo sed efficaciam Spiritus sui illic proferens, qua impleat quod promittit. Et sane rem illic signatam offert et exhibet omnibus qui ad spirituale illud epulum accumbunt : quanquam a fidelibus solis cum fructu percipitur. . . . Quodsi verum est praebere nobis signum visibile ad obsignandam invisibilis rei donationem, accepto corporis symbolo, non minus corpus etiam ipsum nobis dari certo confidamus.

§ 11. Dico igitur (quod et semper in ecclesia receptum fuit et hodie docent quicunque recte sentiunt) duabus rebus constare sacrum Coenae mysterium : corporeis signis, quae ob oculos proposita, res invisibiles secundum imbecillitatis nostrae captum nobis repraesentant, et spirituali veritate, quae per symbola ipsa figuratur simul et exhibetur. Ea qualis sit, dum familiariter demonstrare volo, tria soleo ponere : significationem, materiam quae ex ea dependet, virtutem seu effectum quae ex utraque consequitur. Significatio in promissionibus est sita, quae quodammodo sunt signo implicitae. Materiam aut substantiam voco Christum cum sua morte et resurrectione. Per effectum autem redemptionem, iustitiam, sanctificationem vitamque aeternam et quaecunque alia nobis beneficia affert Christus, intelligo. Porro tametsi fidem haec omnia respiciunt, nullum tamen locum relinquo huic cavillo quasi, dum fide percipi Christum dico, intelligentia duntaxat ac inaginatione velim concipi. Offerunt enim illum promissiones, non ut in aspectu modo nudaque notitia haereamus, sed ut vera eius communicatione fruamur. . . . Dico igitur in Coenae mysterio per symbola panis et vini Christum vere nobis exhiberi¹ adeoque corpus et sanguinem eius, in quibus omnem obedientiam pro comparanda nobis iustitia adimplevit, quo scilicet primum in unum corpus cum ipso coalescamus, deinde participes substantiae eius facti in bonorum omnium communicatione virtutem quoque sentiamus.

¹ Note the influence of Butzer here ; and cf. the *Confessio Tetrapolitana*, *supra*, No. 226.

No. 274. Calvin detained by Farel in Geneva,
Aug. 1536.

Porro an propositum esset mihi famam aucupari, patuit ex brevi discessu, praesertim quum nemo illic¹ sciverit me autorem² esse. Quod etiam alibi semper dissimulavi, et in animo erat idem institutum prosequi, donec Genevae non tam consilio vel hortatu quam formidabili Gulielmi Farelli obtestatione retentus sum, ac si Deus violentam mihi e caelo manum iniiceret. Quum rectum iter Argentoratum tendenti bella³ clausissent, hac celeriter transire statueram, ut non longior quam unius noctis mora in urbe mihi foret. Paulo ante huius optimi viri et Petri Vireti opera profligatus erat papatus: sed res adhuc incompositae et urbs in pravas et noxias factiones divisa. Unus homo, qui nunc turpi defectione iterum ad papistas rediit⁴, statim fecit ut innotescerem. Hic Farellus (ut incredibili zelo promovendi evangelii flagrabat) statim ad me retinendum obnixè nervos omnes intendit. Et quum privatis et occultis studiis me intelligeret esse deditum, ubi se vidit rogando nihil proficere, usque ad execrationem descendit, ut Deus otio meo malediceret, si me a ferendis subsidiis in tanta necessitate subducerem. Quo terrore perculsus, susceptum iter ita omisi ut mihi et verecundiae et timiditatis meae conscius obeundo certo muneri fidem meam non obstringerem.

No. 275. Calvin lecturer at the Cathedral in
Geneva, 5 Sept. 1536.

From the Registers of the Council.—Mag. Guil. Farellus exponit sicuti sit necessaria illa lectura qualem initiavit ille Gallus in S. Petro: propterea supplicat videri de ipso retinendo et sibi alimentando. Super quo fuit advisum quod advideatur de ipsum sustinendo.

XV

FAREL AND CALVIN IN GENEVA, 1536-8

Farel was now 'preacher of the Gospel' and Calvin 'reader in Holy Scripture at Geneva' (Herminjard, iv, No. 650).

(i) Their first enterprise as colleagues took them beyond Geneva, to promote reform in the Pays de Vaud. With reform of its newly

¹ At Basel. The passage is a continuation of No. 268, *supra*.

² sc. of the Institutes.

³ The second war between Charles and Francis, 1536-8.

⁴ Louis du Tillet.

conquered, Jan.-Feb. 1536, territories in view, Bern, ignoring [No. 276] the Emperor's prohibition (Ruchat, iv, 504; Herminjard, iv, No. 565) of 5 July, by [No. 277] summons (Ruchat, iv, 500) of 16 July, arranged for, 1-8 October [No. 278] the **Disputation of Lausanne** (*ibid.* 171 sqq.). Farel prepared the Theses (*ibid.* 505: in French, *Calv. Op.* ix. [= C. R. xxxvii.] 701); and Calvin who, as a humanist, had learned to value the appeal to antiquity, perhaps from the school of Faber Stapulensis¹, intervened, 5 Oct., in the discussion of Thesis III to claim the Fathers as witnesses against a corporal presence in the Eucharist (*Op.* ix. [= C. R. xxxvii.] 877 sqq.). In a letter of 13 Oct. (Herminjard, iv, No. 573) he describes the debate. It went by default; and Bern followed it up by, 19 Oct., [No. 279] **an order to put down 'popery'** (Ruchat, iv, 519); by the appointment first of Caroli, 1 Nov. (Herminjard, iv, No. 576), and then, 7 June 1537 (*ibid.* No. 633), of Viret (till 1559; †71) to be pastor at Lausanne; by, 24 Dec. 1536, [No. 280] **an edict of Reformation** (Ruchat, iv, 522 sqq.); and by a commission of five, 5 Jan. 1537, to enforce the Bernese ceremonies (Herminjard, iv, No. 600). Some pressure was needed to reduce the clergy at

¹ 'Et quidni saecula nostra ad primigeniae illius Ecclesiae effigiem redigi optaremus, cum tunc et purius Christus coleretur et nomen eius latius efflueret? Quandoquidem tunc (attestantibus non paucis ac etiam in libello *Adversus Iudaeos* [cap. vii] Tertulliano, qui illius tempestatis erat) Persae . . . Britanni . . . Germani . . . ignotarum gentium insulae . . . Christum adorabant. . . Haec ille, de illius tempestatis fide in Christum longe lateque diffusa. Quam fidei amplitudinem, quem puritatis cultum redeunte Evangelii luce, nobis quoque annuat ille qui est super omnia Benedictus. Redeunte, inquam, Evangelii luce, quae sese tandem mundo rursum hac tempestate insinuat, qua plerique divina luce illustrati sunt: adeo ut praeter alia multa, a tempore Constantini, quo primitiva illa quae paulatim declinabat, desiit Ecclesia, non fuerit maior linguarum cognitio, non maior orbis detectio, non ad longinquiora terrarum spatia quam temporibus istis nominis Christi propagatio. Linguarum enim cognitio et maxime Latinae et Graecae (nam postea Hebraicarum litterarum studium a Iohanne Capnione^a excitatum est) circa tempora Constantinopoleos ab hostibus Christi expugnatae^b redire coepit: paucis Graecis, nimirum Bessarione^c, Theodoro Gaza^d, Georgio Trapezuntio^e, Emmanuele Chrysolora^f, illic in Italiam receptis. Terrarum autem detectionem, et subinde nominis Christi propagationem haud ita multo post, ad exortum quidem solis fecere Lusitani^g; ad occasum vero vergendo ad meridiem, primum (duce Ligure^h) Hispani, deinde vergendo ad septentrionem etiam Galliⁱ. In quibus omnibus locis, utinam nomen Christi pure ac sincere annunciatum sit, et posthac annuncietur. . . (Faber Stapulensis, *Commentarii Initiatorii in iv Evang. Praefatio*.—Meldis MDXXII.)

^a Johann Reuchlin, 1455-†1522. ^b 1453. ^c 1395-†1472.

^d 1400-†78. ^e 1395-†1481.

^f Prince Henry the Navigator, 1395-†1460; Vasco da Gama, 1450-†1524.

^g Christopher Columbus, 1446-†1506.

^h Bretons and Normans (from 1504; see Harisse, *Jean et Sébastien Cabot*, 271) to the Banks of Newfoundland, &c.

Lausanne (*ibid.* No. 662): but, out of 40 Religious Houses and 337 Secular Clergy invited (*ibid.* No. 573, n. 16) to the Disputation, some 80 Religious and above 120 Seculars (*ibid.* No. 662, n. 3) conformed. The new system began with the founding of the University of Lausanne, Jan. 1537 (*ibid.* No. 603), and was afterwards organized by [No. 281] **Synods at Lausanne**. The first, 14 May 1537, set up seven ecclesiastical districts or 'Classes' and ordered periodical 'Colloquies' (Ruchat, iv. 413 sqq.). The second, March 1538 (*ibid.* 451 sqq.) adopted, 4 April, the ceremonies and 'the four feasts', other than Sunday, in use at Bern (Herminjard, iv, No. 698). In Sept. 1539 all priests who still declined to conform were deprived and banished (Ruchat, iv. 477).

(ii) Returning to Geneva, Farel resumed the project which, in, 24 July 1536, [No. 282] **the case of Jean Balard** (*Calv. Op.* xxi. [= C. R. xlix.] 203: *Journal du Syndic Jean Balard ap. Mémoires et Documents publiés par la Société d'Histoire de Genève*, X. lxxvii, n. 1); cf. H. D. Foster, *Am. Hist. Rev.* viii. 231 sqq.), had already met with some success, of restraining the citizens in the use of their new-found liberties. Restraint from Magistrates was one thing; a mediaeval city was well accustomed to it (cf. J. M. Vincent, *European Blue Laws in Report of the American Historical Association*, 1897, pp. 357 sqq.), and 'in Geneva such legislation antedated not only Calvin but the Reformation' (Foster, *ut sup.* 231, n. 4). But restraint from Ministers was another—a new ecclesiastical tyranny, whereas the old had but just been shaken off. Following up the vote of 21 May to 'live according to the Gospel', it was ordered, says the Register of the Councils, 'pour l'unité de la ville, et afin d'unir les citoyens dans la foi en Christ' (*ap.* Killiet et Dufour, *Le Premier Catéchisme Français de Calvin*, xiii), that articles be drafted. On 10 Nov [No. 283] **Farel's Articuli de regimine ecclesiae** (*Calv. Op.* xxi. [= C. R. xlix.] 206) were adopted: but they appear to have been too merely destructive to be related to the constructive scheme of reform outlined by Calvin from the *Institutes* in, 13 Jan. 1537, [No. 284] **a memorandum of the Ministers of Geneva to the Council** (*Opera*, x a [= C. R. xxxviii.] 5 sqq.; Herminjard, iv, No. 602). In this memorandum the ministers, taking as their standard the weekly Eucharist, the discipline and the catechetical instruction of the primitive Church, proposed to make every citizen of Geneva a monthly communicant, and, to that end, a Christian under fear of excommunication. On 16 Jan. [No. 285] the Two Hundred accepted the memorandum with modifications (*Opera*, xxi. [= C. R. xlix.] 206), and at the elections of 4 Feb. their action was endorsed by the appointment of four Syndics favourable to the preachers (*ibid.* 207). There then appeared, by 17 Feb. (Herminjard, iv, No. 634, nn. 3, 4) from (*Opera*, xxii. [= C. R. l.] 11) the pen of Calvin a Catechism¹,

¹ The *Catechismus Genevensis* Prior superseded by *Le Catechisme de Genève* of 1542 (*Opera* vi. [= C. R. xxxiv.] 1 sqq.) or *Cat. Gen. Posterior*; see below, No. 304.

based on the *Institutes* and entitled *Instruction et Confession de Foi dont on use en l'Eglise de Genève* (in French, Rilliet et Dufour, *op. cit.* 1 sqq. and *Opera*, xxii. [= C. R. l.] 33 sqq.; in Latin, 1538, *ibid.* v. [= C. R. xxxiii.] 317 sqq); and, 27 April (*ibid.* xxi. [= C. R. xlix.] 210), 'extraicte de l'Instruction,' whether by Farel (*ibid.* xxii. [= C. R. l.] 18) or by Calvin (Rilliet et Dufour, *op. cit.* lii sqq.), a [No. 286] **Confession** entitled *Confession de la Foi, laquelle tous bourgeois et habitans de Genève et subjects du pays doivent jurer de garder et tenir* (*Opera*, xxii. [= C. R. l.] 85 sqq.; in Latin, v. [= C. R. xxxiii.] 355 sqq.). But at this point, with the attempt to base Church-membership on individual profession and civic unity on unity of belief, opposition began to appear: first (1) religious, and then (2) political (cf. Ruchat, v. 52 sqq.).

(1) The religious supremacy of the preachers was threatened (a) by, 9 March 1537, [No. 287] the arrival of Anabaptists from the Low Countries (*Opera*, xxi. [= C. R. xlix.] 207 sqq.), who challenged Farel to a disputation, 16-17 March. But the Two Hundred cut it short and banished them 19 March. The Council could not afford to have the authority of its preachers shaken. But (b) neither must their orthodoxy be impugned, as it had been, 17 Feb., before the Bernese commissioners at Lausanne when [No. 288] **Caroli** accused Farel and Calvin of Arianism (Herminjard, iv, No. 610). The charge was untrue. But they had given just enough opening for it; Farel by having had for a colleague at Neuchâtel the Arian Claude d'Aliod (*ibid.* iii, No. 464), and both by omitting 'Trinity' and 'Person' from the formularies they were now seeking to impose on Geneva. Caroli was deposed, 7 June (*ibid.* iv, No. 633), and the preachers were acquitted (*ibid.* No. 634), but not without, 13 Aug., a reprimand (*ibid.* No. 650; and Ruchat, v. 499). With their credit thus re-established, they were strong enough to obtain from the Councils [No. 289] **decrees enforcing the Confession**, 28-9 July, by oath (*Opera*, xxi. [= C. R. xlix.] 213) and, 19 Sept. and 12-15 Nov., on pain of banishment: but these proposals were defeated, 25 Nov., in the General Assembly (*ibid.* 216 sq.). Baulked of civil penalties, the preachers fell back on ecclesiastical; but these, 3-4 Jan. 1538, in the shape of [No. 290] **excommunication** (*ibid.* 219 sq.), even the Two Hundred rejected.

(2) Political events completed their overthrow. On 3 Feb. 1538 (*ibid.* 221) the four Syndics were elected from the popular party. This party now looked to Bern where reforms had been less radical and theology was more liberal than in Geneva; while the Bernese were ready to support any movement in Geneva by means of which they could make good their claims over the too independent city which they had rescued along with the Pays de Vaud. There, as in the other Prince-Bishopric of Lausanne and in the Vaud, ecclesiastical uniformity might pave the way for political unity. Accordingly, on 11-12 March, without consulting the ministers [No. 291] the Genevan government voted the Bernese ceremonies (*ibid.*

222; and Herminjard, iv, No. 694, n. 2); and Bern responded, 15 April, by notifying both to preachers (*ibid.* No. 699) and to Council (*ibid.* No. 700) at Geneva a [No. 292] request for their adoption, as at its Synod of Lausanne, 4 April. On the 19th [No. 293] the Council demanded of the preachers whether they would conform or not (*Opera*, xxi. [= C. R. xlix.] 223 sq.); and if not 'they would find others' (*ibid.* 225), 20 April. Next day was Easter Sunday. Farel and Calvin refused to give Communion; and 21-3 April [No. 294] they were banished from Geneva (*ibid.* 225 sqq.). For the time, the struggle against the discipline ended in its defeat.

No. 276. The Emperor's prohibition of the Disputation, 5 July 1536.

Carolus, Divina favente clementia, Romanorum Imperator, semper Augustus, &c. Honorabiles, &c. Intelleximus in ista civitate nostra Imperiali, ubi inter caetera ecclesiastica aedificia cathedralis ecclesia a nostris praedecessoribus dotata, et sub nostra protectione existit, fieri innovationes in religionis et fidei nostrae causa, et inter caetera institutam esse certam disputationem brevi istic fiendam super eodem negotio. Quae omnia nobis eo magis sunt adversa, quia ea in praeiudicium Edictorum nostrorum Imperialium (quibus omnes innovationes usque ad futurum Concilium, iam nostro studio et apud Beatitudinem summi Pontificis intercessione indictum, et ad futurum mensem Maii inchoandum¹, cessare et suspensas esse volumus) attentari videamus. Et proinde vos requirimus, serio mandantes, ut dictam disputationem, ut praefertur, institutam necnon omnes alias innovationes in negotio fidei et religionis nostrae attentatas illico annullatis, aboleatis, et omnia innovata in pristinum restituatis: causam ad futurum Concilium, uti praefertur, celebrandum remittatis,² contrarium nullo pacto facere praesumentes, seu fieri permittentes, vosque ita obedientes geratis ut nobis de vestra erga Nos et Sacrum Imperium observantia et officio plane persuademus.—*Datum Savilianum³ die v Julii A.D. 1536, Imperii Nostri xvi.*

¹ Paul III published 2 June 1536 a Bull convoking the Council to Mantua for 7 May 1537.

² On July 23 the Council resolved 'per maiorem partem assistantium debere . . . bene vivere in pace et bono amore et quod nullae insolentiae neque innovationes fiant, sed debere expectare concilium tenendum'.

³ Savigliano, in Piedmont.

No. 277. Bern's summons for the Disputation
at Lausanne, 16 July 1536.

Nous l'Advoyer, Petit et Grand Conseil, nommé[s] les Deux-Cents des Bourgeoys de Berne, faisons savoir et notifions à tous qu'il appartiendra, et cestes par nostre Commandement seront communiquées et publiées. Comme ainsi soit que en nos terres, que justement par la grâce de Dieu avons conquestées, grands differents et questions se soient levées entre nos subjects à cause de la foi, pource que les uns veulent vivre selon le St. Evangile de Jésus et les autres à la manière accoustumée . . . avons ordonné que tous les Prestres, Moynes et gens que l'on appelle d'Eglise, quelsconques qu'ils soyent, estans en nos dites Terres, et les Prescheurs aussi, ayent à comparoïr et se trouver à Lausanne le premier jour du mois d'Octobre prochainement venant pour rendre raison de leur foi, pour maintenir et soutenir par la Sainte Escripture, tant du Vieulx que du Nouveau Testament, ce qu'ils enseignent, font et tiennent en l'assemblée du peuple. . . . Et non seulement à ceux de nos terres, mais à tous allans et venans de quelque pays qu'ils soient ; auxquels et à tous, donnons assurance, saufconduit, et sauvegarde, pour aller, venir, opposer ou respondre en la ditte disputation, et ce par la S. Escripture . . . par laquelle voulons toute la disputation estre faicte et concluë . . .

No. 278. The Disputation of Lausanne, 1-8
October 1536.

(a) *The Theses* :—

(1) Scriptura sacra aliam iustificandi viam nescit ullam, praeter eam quae est per fidem in Christum Iesum semel oblatum, amplius nunquam offerendum : ut Christi vim prorsus enervet, qui aliam pro peccatorum remissione vel satisfactionem vel oblationem vel purgationem inducit.

(2) Eundem Christum a morte suscitatum, in coelum assumptum, et ad dexteram Patris sedentem, solum caput, pontificem vere summum, mediatorem et intercessorem ecclesiae suae agnoscit.

(3) Hanc vero ecclesiam Dei esse Scriptura sacra praedicat, quotquot se solo Christi sanguine redemptos credunt eiusque solius verbo inconcusso credunt et nituntur qui, nobis corporali praesentia subductus, Spiritus sui virtute omnia impleat, sustineat, regat ac vivificet.

(4) Quae quidem ecclesia, etsi oculis Dei solius nota sit, suas tamen habet ceremonias a Christo institutas, quibus et cernitur

et agnoscitur : videlicet, Baptismum et Coenam Domini, quae sacramenta vocantur quia rerum arcanarum, id est, divinae gratiae symbola sunt ac signa.

(5) Praedicta quoque ecclesia ministrum non agnoscit ullum, nisi verbi et sacramentorum administratorem.

(6) Praeterea nec ad obtinendam peccatorum remissionem aliam eorum confessionem eadem ecclesia asserit, quam eam quae fit apud Deum, nec aliam absolutionem quam eam quae fit a Deo ; cui soli in eum finem confitendum, et a quo solo peccata condonantur.

(7) Ad haec saepius iam dicta ecclesia ritum colendi Deum plane alium ignorat quam spirituales et ex verbo Dei praescripto, qui in Dei proximique dilectione situs est ; atque adeo omnium ceremoniarum nugas infinitas quatenus pervertendae religioni serviunt, ut sunt imagines, et id genus alia, prorsus non admittit.

(8) Eadem quoque agnoscit unum solum magistratum, huncque laicum, a Deo institutum, ad reipublicae tranquillitatem conservandam necessarium. Cui omnibus etiam parendum censet, quatenus contra Deum nihil praecipit.

(9) Insuper coniugium omnibus hominibus, modo ad hoc idoneis, a Deo institutum, nullius ordinis sanctimoniae repugnare affirmat.

(10) Postremo, quae media vocantur, ut sunt cibi, potus, diurnaeque observatio : iis uti vir pius quamquam libere ubique potest, scienter tamen et ex caritate uti debet.

(b) *Calvin, on Thesis III.* 5 Oct. 1536.—Je m'estoie abstenu de parler jusques à ceste heure et avoye delibéré de me abstenir jusques à la fin, voyant que ma parolle n'estoit pas fort requise en si suffisantes responses que donnent mes freres Farel et Viret. Mais la reproche que vous nous avez faicte touchant les saintz docteurs anciens me contrainct de dire ung mot pour remonstrer briefvement combien à tort et sans cause vous nous accusez en cest endroict.

Vous nous imposez que nous les contemnons et du tout rejetons, adjouxtant la raison que c'est pourtant que nous les sentons contraires et adverses à nostre cause.

Quant au contemnement nous ne refusons point que ne soyons estimez de tout le monde non seulement temeraires mais arrogans outre mesure, si nous avions telz serviteurs de Dieu en mocquerie telle que vous dictes, jusques à les reputer asnes. S'il estoit ainsi, nous ne prendrions point la peine de les lire et nous servir de leur doctrine quand mestier est et que l'occasion s'y addonne. Tellement que ceux qui font semblant

de leur porter grande reverence souvent ne les ont pas en si grand honneur que nous, et ne daigneroient employer le temps à lire leurs escriptz que nous y employons voluntiers. Comme se pourroit prouver, non pas à vous mais à ung qui y seroit un peu plus exercité.

Mais ce que nous les avons tousjours cependant au nombre de ceux aux quelz n'est pas deue obeissance et ne exaltons pas tellement leur autorité que elle puisse amoindrir ou aucunement abaisser la dignité de la parolle du Seigneur, laquelle seule avec entiere obeissance doit estre estimee en l'église de Jesu-Christ, ce n'est pas sans raison plus que suffisante.

En somme, nous leur faisons tel honneur qui leur peut appartenir selon Dieu, nous servans d'eux et de leur ministère pour chercher la verité de Dieu, affins que l'ayans trouuee nous l'escoutions avec eux et observions en toute humilité et reverence, reservans cest honneur au seul Seigneur qu'il n'y ait que sa bouche ouverte en l'église pour parler en autorité et que toute aurreille soit preste à l'escouter et toute âme à luy obéir. Mesme S. Cyprien parlant du present propos lequel nous traictons maintenant, au 2 livre des epistres en l'epistre 3, ne veult pas que nous ayons aucun esgard à ce que auront dict ou faict ceux qui auront esté auparavant nous, mais que seulement nous considerions ce que a dict Christ nostre maistre lequel est devant tous.

Quand à la raison que vous avez amenee que nous craignons d'estre convaincu par leur autorité veu que en tout ilz nous sont contraires . . . je me contenteray de vous avoir monstre comment, en ce point auquel vous nous les faictes tant adverses, nous les pouvons justement prendre pour deffenseurs de nostre opinion. . . .

Premièrement, Tertullien assez prochain du temps des Apostres, refutant l'erreur de Marcion qui disoit le corps de Jesu-Christ n'avoyr esté que ung phantasme et vaine apparence tout tel que vous le nous forgez, privé et spolié de toute verité et propriété d'un corps humain, prouve par cest argument que Christ a eu ung vray corps veu qu'il en a laissé la figure par representation en sa Cène. S'il est ainsi, dict il, qu'il n'y puisse avoir image ne representation sinon des choses veritables, il s'ensuit que Christ a prins ung vray corps quand il est descendu a nous, veu que en la Cène il nous a laissé de la figure de icelluy corps. Notez outre la deduction de l'argument que, encores en nommant ce sacrement que vous maintenez estre le corps matériel de Christ, il l'appelle la figure du corps.

Quicunque soit l'auteur des commentaires imparfaitz sur S. Matthieu que l'on attribue a S. Jehan Chrisostome et lesquelz on met avec ses œuvres en la xi^e homelie environ le milieu, voulant remontrer que c'est beaucoup plus grande offense de nous contaminer et polluer nous mesmes que de prophaner les vaisseaux ou l'on administre les sacremens de la Cène, adjouste la raison : pourtant que nous sommes les vrais vaisseaux ou Dieu habite ; en ceux-là, n'est pas contenu le vray corps de Jesu Christ, mais seulement le mystère de son corps. Il parle ainsy de mot à mot. Regardez comment, renversant toute vostre doctrine, il establist simplement la nostre, disant apertement qu'il ne nous fault là chercher le corps naturel de Jesu-Christ, mais ung mistère de la communication que nous avons en son corps.

S. Augustin, lequel vous faictes tant vostre, en l'epistre xxiii^e, bien près de la fin, apres avoyr parlé de la foy que apportent les petiz enfans au baptesme et avoyr dict que la locution est impropre de dire que les petiz enfans croient, conclud son intention par ces similitudes. Nous usons, dict il, de ces formes de parler que nous disons le Seigneur estre resuscité le jour que nous celebrons la pasque et aussy estre crucifié le jour que nous celebrons sa passion, et celui qui aura parlé en ceste forme nullement ne sera reprins. Pareillement aussy le pain et le vin qui sont sacrement du corps et du sang de Christ, nous les appellons aucunement le corps et le sang : *quodammodo vocamus sacramenta*. Voyez premièrement pour quelle raison il estime que ces figures de pain et de vin puissent estre nommez le corps et le sang du Seigneur, c'est asscavoir pource qu'ilz en sont representation. D'avantage, il met signamment ceste particule *quodammodo* aucunement pour demonstrier plus clairement et expressement l'impropre qui en est en ceste facon de parler.

Au commencement de quelque homelie sur l'evangile S. Jehan, environ le 8^e ou 9^e, je n'en ay pas la memoire certaine, commençant à exhorter le peuple d'escouter la voix de Jesus, par maniere d'objection, demande comment ilz peuvent ouyr celui qui ne parle pas personnellement à eux : puis il respond, tant que le siecle durera il fault que le Seigneur soit en hault, mais il nous a laissé sa parole en terre par laquelle il parle a nous. Car il fault que le corps qui est monté au ciel soit en ung lieu, mais sa verité est espandue par tout. Comment accorderez vous que le corps volle par toutz les autelz, est enfermé en toutes les boetes, est tous les jours en

une mesme heure en cent mille places, avec ce que vous asseure ce saint personnaige ?

Oultre au livre *De fide ad Petrum Diaconum* (combien qu'on doute si c'est de luy ou de quelque autre ancien) au chap. 19 il dict que les patriarches et prophètes ont soubz le viel testament offert à nostre Seigneur Jesu-Christ des bestes brutes et que maintenant l'église universelle assiduellement luy offre le sacrifice de pain et vin en charite de foy. Et pourtant comme en iceux sacrifices charnelz estoit la figuration du corps de Christ lequell il debvoit offrir, aussy que en ce sacrifice du nouveau testament est faicte action de graces et commemoration de la chair de Christ laquelle il a offert et du sang lequell il a espandu pour la remission de nos pechez. Poisez tous les motz et syllabes (si bon vous semble) pour veoyr s'il favorise aucunement e [à] vostre erreur.

Finablement, en l'épistre *ad Dardanum*, laquelle est assez ample et longue, il a rendu assez bon tesmoignage de ce qu'il en sentoit. Car en la première partie il traicte comment Jesu-Christ selon sa divinite remplit tout, habite partout, est espandu par le ciel et la terre. En la seconde, il monstre comment selon son humanité il est au ciel, non pas en terre. Car en transferant (dict il) et exaltant son corps en hault, il luy a donné gloire et immortalité, mais il ne luy a pas osté sa verité et sa nature.

Tout le monde peult facilement appercepvoir de quelle temerité vous nous reprochez que les docteurs anciens nous sont contraires. Certes si vous en eussiez veu quelques feulletz, vous ne eussiez esté si hardy a faire ung tel jugement que vous avez faict n'en ayant veu mesmes les couvertures, comme assez le monstrent les tesmoignages precedens. . . .

(c) *From Calvin's letter of 13 Oct. 1536.*—Disputationum istarum, quarum mentionem nuper inieci, rumore sic longe lateque pervagatum esse intelligo ut aliqua eius aura urbem vestram¹ afflatam esse nihil dubitem. Institutaе fuerunt Senatus Bernensis decreto, cum solemnī Edicto, quo impune liberumque unicuique esse iussit Senatus, proponere quod ad religionis suae defensionem pertinere videretur. Hanc optimam esse rationem putarunt, qua eorum inscitiam² publice traducerent qui verae religioni adversari conarentur, atque ita

¹ Orléans.

² Out of 337 seculars invited, only 174 came, and only 4 took part in the discussion; and out of 40 Religious Houses only one friar spoke.

triumphatam ex hac nova ditione, quam e manibus Ducis Sabaudiae receperunt, ablegarent. Iam ex multis locis idola et altaria labefactari coeperunt, ac brevi futurum spero ut quod adhuc superest repurgetur.¹ Faxit Dominus ut ex omnium cordibus idololatria corruat.

No. 279. Bern's order to put down 'popery' in the Pays de Vaud, 19 Oct. 1536.

Nous l'Avoyer, Petit et Grand conseil nommés les Deux Cents des Bourgeois de Berne, faisons savoir et notifions à tous nobles, pourvéables, discrets nos chiers et féaulx soubjects, habitans ès villes, bourgs, chasteaulx, villages et autres places, par la grace de Dieu en ces dernières guerres conquêtes, comme ainsi soit que par notre publique édict et mandement par cy devant esmanés à cause de la Disputation tenue à Lausanne, asses et au long soyez advertis et informés des raisons et occasions nous mouvantes à cela ; en après vous avoir entendus l'ordre et cours d'ycelle, et la ditte Disputation estre dymanche huitième jour du moys d'Octobre achevée, Nous comme ceulx qui sont en tenus non seulement de gouverner nous soubjects par équité, justice, loys, estatuts et ordonnances corporelles et extérieures, ains aussy de donner toutes adresses, faveur, ayde, assistance, promotion, employer toutes diligences et forces à ce qu'ils vivent selon Dieu en vraye et vive foy, laquelle produit les bonnes œuvres, en tant que désirons rendre bon compte à Dieu de notre administration et régiment au jour du dernier jugement ; estre aussy assuré déjà une bonne partye de vous suffisamment estre instruits en la Parole de Dieu ; pareillement tout le monde acertioré² des grands abbomynables et exécrables abus, erreurs et séductions que [qui] sont en l'Eglise papale, comme communément l'on dit et confesse ; considérant les dix conclusions disputées au dit Lausanne, ensemble leurs probations et déclarations, estre fondées en la Sainte Escripiture, tieusement³ que de tous ceulx qui sont [ont] été évoqués, la plupart n'ont voulu disputer ny arguer contre icelles, et que ceux qui se sont mis en avant pour les impugner n'ont allégué raisons, argumens ne probations prises de la Sainte Escripiture que [qui] puissent ruiner icelles conclusions, comme tous bons chrétiens cella facilement pourroyent indiquer et cognoistre èsquels remettons le jugement ; pour autant, nonobstant les vaines protestations et appellations faictes, avons advisé (de ce ayant non seulement l'exemple

¹ For a description of the process cf. Ruchat, iv. 368-71.

² rendu certain.

³ tellement.

des bons fidèles roys du vieulx testament, comme du roy Eschie, aussy de tous bons roys, princes et potentats, après qu'ont eue la renaissance [qui ont reçu la connaissance] de la vraye foy de Jésus-Christ) d'abatre toutes idolâtries, cérémonies papales, traditions et ordonnances des hommes non conformés à la Parole de Dieu.

A ceste cause et effect mandons et commandons à tous et un chacun nous [nos] baillifs, advoyers, chastelains, lieutenans et aultres officiers que, incontinent avoir vues icestes, vous transpourtiez d'une église en l'autre, et aussy ès cloistres et monastères que [qui] sont sous votre charge et office, et à tous prestres, prevosts, doyens, chanoines, curés, vicaires, chappelains, abbés, prieurs, moennes, nunins, et toutes autres personnes appelées gens d'Eglise, de notre part fassiez exprès commandement de soy incontinent depourter de toutes cérémonies, sacrifices, offices, institutions et traditions papistiques, et de toutellement cesser d'ycelles, entant qu'ils désireront d'éviter notre male grace et grievée punition; aussy vous expressement recommandant sans dilation abatre toutes images et idoles, aussy les autels estans dans lesdites églises et monastères; toutefois cella par bon ordre et sans tumulte, auxdits personnages et tous aultres nous [nos] subjects faisant commandement d'ouyr la Parolle de Dieu ès lieux plus prochains où les prédicans sont déjà constitués et cy après avec le temps seront par nous ordonnés et députés; lesquels prédicans ils doivent bénignement ouyr, recevoir et traicter, sans les molester ny ennuyre (donner ennui), en soute que ne soit; et que très tous vivent ensemble en bonne paix, tranquillité fraternelle et chrestienne dilection, amour et union; les advertissans qu'avons délibéré, sitost que nous sera possible, de mettre ordre à toute la reste des affaires, touchant les gens que l'on a appelés d'Eglise, et les biens d'icelle, et de faire à l'aide de Dieu sur le toutaige (tout) si raisonnable et chrestienne réformation, qu'espérons Dieu et le monde s'en contenteront. A ceste cause à vous, nous [nos] susdits officiers, desrechief commandons de en toute diligence exécuter cestuy nostre mandement; et à vous nous [nos] subjects d'obeyr à yeelluy sans exceptions, contradictions, oppositions ne allégations quelconques, soub peine de notre indignation, car ainsi le voulons.

**No. 280. Bern's Edict of Reformation for the
Pays de Vaud, 24 Dec. 1536.**

L'Avoyer et Conseil, petit et grand, nommés les Deux Cents de Berne, faisons savoir à tous et un chacun nos chers et

féals sujets, médiats et immédiats, comme ainsi soit que par notre mandement, lequel nos baillis vous ont publié, êtes assez informés des raisons qui nous ont mûs d'abolir toutes cérémonies papales et traditions des hommes; promettans par icelui mandement de faire, sous le demeurant, raisonnable et chrétienne réformation. A cette cause et effet avons ordonné et par ces présentes ordonnons:—

(1) *Prédicans*.—Premièrement, que nul soi mêle d'annoncer la Parole de Dieu en nos dits pays que [qui] ne soit par nous à ce député. Toutefois l'élection des dits ministres se pourra faire par les prédicans et iceux à nous présentés pour les confirmer.

2°. Que iceux ministres purement annoncent la Parole de Dieu¹ en tant que désirent éviter notre male grâce.

(2) *Sacremens*.—Puisque, en la Sainte Ecriture, ne se trouvent fondés ni institués sinon deux sacremens; à savoir la Sainte Cène de notre Seigneur et le Baptême, ordonnons que les autres cinq que l'on appelle sacremens soient émendés.

Toutefois l'état de mariage doit être observé comme Dieu l'a ordonné, et à la forme que tenons contray et confirmé.

Et sur ce avons établi jour de Sainte Cène de Notre Seigneur pour icelle tenir et observer, à savoir à Pâques, Pentecôte et Noël.²

Touchant le Baptême, ordonnons que tous les jours on puisse baptiser les enfans; toutefois nous semblerait convenable que en une chacune paroisse les enfans fussent baptisés le dimanche après le sermon.

Nous voulons aussi que en ces trois points soit observé une même forme: laquelle ci-après nous enverrons par écrit.

(3) *Gens d'Eglise*.—Concernant les gens qu'on appelle gens d'Eglise avons ordonné que tous ceux d'icelle qui voudront vivre selon Dieu et la forme de notre réformation leur vie durant puissent et doivent gaudir de leurs bénéfices et prébendes, toutefois les pensions et absences dénégues. Et à cause qu'il est grand nombre des dits gens d'Eglise, et aussi pour entretenir les prédicans il faut beaucoup de biens, pareillement est de nécessité d'avoir considérations sur les pauvres du dit pays, avons ordonné que tous les biens d'Eglise demeurent en leur être, et chacun les payer ci-après comme

¹ Their Excellencies afterwards ordered the laity who absented themselves from sermons to be imprisoned; and those who refused to attend to be banished (Ruchat, iv. 523).

² By an edict of 19 July 1595 a fourth Communion day was added, viz. the first Sunday in September (*ibid.* iv. 524).

du passé, jusques à tant qu'après les décès des dits gens d'Eglise nous y ordonnions autrement. Toutefois les biens meubles des dites églises comme vêtemens, ornemens, calices et autres choses lesquels sont encore présens, les octroyons à ceux qui les ont donnés jusques à la tierce lignée, à savoir grandpère et grandmère, par condition que un chacun par bons signes et témoins approuve par devant nos commis ou autres à ce députés qu'il ainsi soit.

(4) *Messes, Vigiles, Anniversaires*.—Les fondations des messes, vigiles, et anniversaires et autres abusions que ceux qui sont encore en vie ont fondé et ordonné, permettons que iceux vivans les puissent retirer après le décès des gens d'Eglise qui pour le présent les possèdent et qui se sont faits conformés à notre réformation ; adjoint que si les dits vivans après la publication allaient de vie à trépas devant les dits possesseurs, que cela nonobstant leurs légitimes héritiers puissent retirer icelles fondations après le trépas desdits possesseurs, toujours réservant les donations qui sont converties aux bâtimens des églises, lesquelles voulons demeurer.

(5) *Mariage des Ecclésiastiques*.—Pourtant que le mariage des gens d'Eglise est par tradition papale défendu, est raisonnable que celui soit à toutes personnes aptes et idoines à celui octroyé et permis pour éviter paillardise.

(6) *Libération des viandes*.—Quant aux viandes, puisque icelles sont octroyées de manger en tout temps par action de grâce et sans scandale, ordonnons que cela soit, comme dit est, à un chacun et en tout temps délibéré.

(7) *Gloutonneries*.—Et à cause que gourmandise est un très-grand vice, avons ordonné que ceux qui mangeront et boiront plus qu'ils ne pourront porter doivent bailler dix florins ; pareillement ceux qui inviteront les autres à boire d'autant hors de mesure, qu'un chacun donne trente sols ; les prédicans et officiers privés de leur ministère et office.

(8) *Fêtes*.—Touchant les fêtes ordonnons et commandons que toutes les dimanches doivent être observées, adjoint le jour de la Nativité de notre Seigneur ; sur lesquels jours on doit reposer et maximément ouïr la Parole de Dieu.

(9) *Serment*.—Nous établissons que quand vous ferez serment, que le faisiez par le nom de Dieu sans nommer les saints.

(10) *Cérémonies papales*.—Nous avons aussi ordonné que vous vous déportiez d'aller à la messe et autres cérémonies

papales sous le bamp [ban], l'homme de dix florins, et la femme de cinq.

(11) *Adultère*. (12) *Paillardise*.

(13) *Maquerellage*. (14) *Blasphèmes*.

(15) *Jeux*. (16) *Vêtemens*.

(17) *Bénitions*.—Nous avons aussi ordonné que toutes bénédictions de voyage et pèlerinages soient ôtées, et que nul soit si hardi d'aller en iceux sous peine, l'homme de dix florins, la femme de cinq florins.

(18) *Paternoster*.—Pour éviter scandale et noise, avons ordonné que nul doive porter paternostre sous peine, l'homme de trente sols et la femme de quinze sols.

(19) *Ave Maria*.—Nous sommes tous certains que tous sont d'opinion que nul doive adorer autre sinon un Seigneur Dieu, comme N. S. Jésus-Christ nous a appris. À cette cause voulons que l'on ne dise l'Ave Maria en lieu de prière et que l'on ne les sonne plus comme du temps passé.

(20) *Sonner*, &c.—Sonnement des cloches contre le temps et pour les trépassés est chose vaine : partant nous l'abolissons et défendons.

(21) *Instruction des enfans*.—Et afin que les enfans soient instruits en la loi de Dieu, et appris à prier, avons avisé de vous envoyer la forme¹ comme nous la tenons pour icelle ensuivre.

(22) *Danses*.—Danses sont scandaleuses : à cette cause les défendons sous le bamp [ban] de trois florins. Toutefois trois honnêtes danses sur les jours de noces octroyons.

(23) *Pensions*.—Nous avons aussi, pour l'honneur et le profit de tous vous, établi que nul entre vous ci-après soit si hardi de prendre pension ni don des princes, seigneurs, villes, communautés, potentats étrangers, en tant que désirez garder votre honneur et éviter le nom d'infamité.

(24) *Guerre*.—Pareillement que nul de vous ci-après aille en guerre étrange, sous peins [peine], les capitaines, lieutenans, porteurs de bannières et autres officiers, de perdition de leur vie, et les simples compagnons être mis en prison et aussi donner dix florins, et avec cela être mis au collier. . . .

Mandons et commandons sur ce à vous nos officiers de tenir main sur icelles nos ordonnances, et les transgresseurs d'icelles punir, et à tous nos dits sujets de révéler et incuser les uns les autres.

¹ It was the Catechism of the Zwinglian Gaspard Megander (Grossmann), composed about 1533 (cf. Gesneri *Bibliotheca Universalis*, 1545, f. 266 a); but as improved by Bucer, and published by the Bernese Government, Jan. 1538 (Herminjard, iv, No. 677, n. 16).

No. 281. The Synod of Lausanne, 4th April 1538.

Fratres omnes qui ad Lausannensem Synodum convenerunt, communibus suffragiis ac unanimi consensu admiserunt probaruntque ceremonias et ritus Bernensis ecclesiae, quae nobis in Synodo sunt proposita : nempe, baptizare ad lapidem¹, sive baptisterium, uti panibus azymis² in Coena Domini, hac tamen lege ut ad nullam certam panum formam adigantur sed qui frangi possint, et constituentur qui tales panes suppedient et curent conficiendos. Neque magis abhorrent a diebus festis³; hoc solum obnixe rogant, ut Magnificis Dominis placeat remittere nimis exactam istam quorundam praefectorum severitatem, si qui alioqui viri boni et de causa pietatis optime meriti, minime malo animo aut studio contradicendi et perturbandae tranquillitatis Ecclesiae, aliquid operis egerint; sed istam potius severitatem exerceant in scortatores, aleatores et ebriosos, quibus sunt longe clementiores.

No. 282. The case of Jean Balard at Geneva, July 1536.

(a) 21 July. *Consilium Ordinarium*.—Super exhortatione Farelli fuit resolutum quod petantur Ioh. Balard, I. J. Ramel et similes qui recusant venire auditum verbum Domini: adverserunt postea vocentur et fiat eis mandatum vadant auditum verbum Domini aut dicant causam quare non, et si secus fecerint, cogantur et relinquatur onus Cl. Savoye⁴.

(b) 24 July. *Consilium Ordinarium*.—Ibidem fuit petitus Io. Balard, quare recusat audire verbum Dei? Qui respondit quod ipse credit in Deum qui per suum Spiritum ipsum docet, nec potest credere praedicantibus nostris. Atque pluries dixit nos non posse cogere cives ad eundum ad sermonem contra suam conscientiam, cum in principio talium rerum nos particulariter respondemus neminem posse dominari conscientiis nostris. Tandem monuimus eum quod infra triduum ipse debeat paruisse cridis, aut causam iustam quare non declarasse.

¹ Stone fonts still continue in the German-speaking territories of Bern, but not in the Pays du Vaud (Ruchat, iv. 460).

² Unleavened bread continued in Bern till 1605, and in the Vaud till 1606, when ordinary bread was ordered (*ibid.* 461).

³ The 'four feasts', other than Sundays, are Christmas, New Year, Annunciation, and Ascension (Hermijard, iv, No. 693, n. 17; Ruchat, iv. 451). They continue to be observed still (Ruchat, iv. 460).

⁴ One of the syndics.

Qui respondit¹ *Je veulx vivre selon l'evangille de Dieu, mais je ne veulx point user selon l'interpretation d'aulcungs particuliers mais selon l'interpretation du Saint Esprit par la sainte mère église universelle en laquelle je croys.* J. Balard.—Interrogué qu'il responde s'il veult pas aller au sermon, respond que sa conscience ne luy porte pas qu'il alle et pourtant ne veult il pas faire contre icelle : car il est enseigné par plus haut que tels prescheurs.—Omnibus auditis fuit sibi factum mandatum quod si non paruerit cridis et iverit ad sermonem sicuti statutum est, ipse eiusque familia debeant exire civitatem infra decem dies proximas ab hac.

No. 283. Farel's articles, 10 Nov. 1536.

From the Register of the Councils.—M. Guil. Farellus proposuit articulos de regimine ecclesiae qui fuerunt lecti et super quibus fuit arrestatum quod articuli ipsi observentur integre, et ruantur imagines in quibuscunque locis fuerint repertae, et provideatur de praedicatis sicuti latius dicitur in Ordinario Concilio.

No. 284. From the memorandum of the Ministers of Geneva to the Council, 13 Jan. 1537.

Nous très-honorés Seigneurs !—Il est certain que une esglise ne peut estre dicte bien ordonnée et reiglée (1) synon en laquelle [a] la Sainte Cène de Nostre Seigneur est souventefoys célébrée et frequentée, et ce avecq si bonne police, que nul ne ose présumer de soy y présenter synon saintement et en singulière révérence. Et pour ceste cause est nécessaire, pour bien maintenir l'esglise en son intégrité, [b] la discipline de l'excommunication, par laquelle soyent corrigés ceux qui ne se veulent renger amiablement et en toute obéissance à la sainte Parolle de Dieu. Davantage c'est une chose bien expédiente à l'édification de l'esglise, (2) de chanter aulcungs pseumes en forme d'oraysons publicqs par lesqueulx on face prières à Dieu, ou que on chante ses louanges, affin que les cueurs de tous soyent esmeuz et incités a formé [former] pareilles oraysons et rendre pareilles louanges et grâces à Dieu d'une mesme affection. Tiercement, il est fort requis et quasi nécessaire pour conserver le peuple en pourteté de doctrine (3) que les enfans dès leur jeune eage

¹ ' Sur un petit morceau de papier cousu de sa main, au registre.'—*Mém.* et doc. X. lxxviii.

soyent tellement instruits qu'ils puyssent rendre rayson de la foy, afin que on ne laisse deschoyr la doctrine évangélique, ains que la sentence en soyt diligemment retenue et baillée de main en main et de père en filz. Finablement, la tyrannie que az exercé le [pape] en matière de (4) mariages, et les loyx iniques qu'il y a imposé, font qu'il survient beaucoup de controversies, pour lesquelles vuyder il seroyt bon adviser de fère certainnes ordonnances par lesquelles on eust à se y gouverner, et quant il y adviendroyt quelque différent, mettre bon ordre à les appayser.

Or, pour le trouble et confusion qui estoyt au commencement en ceste ville, devant que l'Évangille y fût d'un accord receu et recogneu¹, il n'a esté possible de réduire tout du premier coup à bon ordre, veu que mesme l'ignorance du peuple ne le povoyt porter.² Mays maintenant qu'il az pleuz au Seigneur de ung peu mieux establir icy son règne, il nous az semblé advis estre bon et salutayre de conférer ensemble touchant ces choses, et, après avoyr advisé entre nous par la Parolle du Seigneur, ayant invocqué son nom et imploré l'assistance de son esprit, quelle polisse il seroyt bon dey tenir cy après, nous avons conclud de vous présenter par articles ce que en avons délibéré, selon la cognoissance que le Seigneur nous en az donné, vous priant au nom de Dieu que vostre playsir soyt ne vous espargner, de vostre part, à faire icy ce qui est de vostre office : C'est que si vous voyés nostre advertissement estre de la sainte parolle de l'Évangille, mettez bonne diligence que ces observations soyent receues et maintenues en vostre ville, puisque le Seigneur, par sa bonté, vous az donné ceste cognoissance³ que les ordonnances par lesqueulles son Eglise est entretenue sont : que elle soyt vrayement et le plus prest que fère se peult conformée à sa Parolle, qui est la certainne reigle de tout gouvernement et administration, mays principalement du gouvernement ecclésiastique.

(1) [a] Il seroyt bien à désirer que la communication de la sainte Cène de Jésus-Crist fust tous les dimenches pour le

¹ sc. 21 May 1536, *supra*, No. 266.

² For the state of Geneva on Calvin's arrival cf. 'Les adieux de Calvin', 28 April 1564, *ap.* Bonnet, *Lettres de Calvin*, ii. 574, and *infra*, No. 318.

³ For the view that it is the duty of the State to maintain 'true religion' as well as 'virtue' cf. 'Non . . . huc spectat duntaxat [politia], ut spirent homines, edant, bibant, foveantur . . . sed ne idololatria, ne in Dei nomen sacrilegia, ne adversus eius veritatem blasphemiae aliaque religionis offensiones publicae emergant, ac in populum spargantur . . . denique ut inter Christianos publica religionis facies existat, inter homines constet humanitas' (*Institutio*, Cap. vi, ed. 1536; *Opera*, i. [= C. R. xxix.] 230).

moins en usage,¹ quant l'esglise est assemblée en multitude; veu la grande consolation que les fidèles en recoiuent et le fruit qui en procède en toute manière, tant pour les promesses qui sont là présentées en nostre foy—c'est que vraiment nous sommes faicts participans du corps et du sang de Jésus, de sa mort, de sa vie, de son esprit et de tous ses biens—que pour les exortations qui nous y sont faictes à recognoëstre et magnifier par confession de louanges les merueilleuses choses, grâces de Dieu sur nous, finalement à vivre crestiennement estans conjoincts ensemble en bonne payx et unité fraternelle, comme membre d'ung mesme corps.² Et, de faict, elle n'az pas esté instituée de Jhésus pour en fère commémoration deux ou troys foyz l'an, mais pour ung fréquent exercice de nostre foy et charité, duquel la congrégation des crestiens heutz à user quant elle seroyt adsemblée, comme nous voyons qu'il est escript aux Actes, 2^e chap., que les disciples de N. S. persévéroient en la fraction du pain, qui est l'ordonnance de la Cène. Et telle az esté tousjours la pratique de l'Esglise ancienne jusques à ce que l'abomination des messes a esté introduite, en laquelle au lieu de ceste communication de tous les fidèles, a esté dressé cest horrible sacrilège que ung sacrifieroyt pour tous; en quoi la Cène a esté du tout destruite et abolie. Mays, pource que l'infirmité du peuple est encore telle qu'il y auroyt dangier que ce sacré et tant excellent mistère ne vint en mespris, s'il estoyt si souvent célébré, ayant esgard à cela, il nous a semblé bon que, en attendant que le peuple, qui est encores aucunement débile, sera plus confirmé, ceste sainte Cène soyt usitée une foyz chascun moys en l'ung des troys lieux où se font maintenant les prédications, c'est à sçavoir, S. Pierre, Rive ou S. Gervays; tellement que l'ung des moys elle se face à S. Pierre, l'autre à Rive,³ et l'autre à S. Gervays, et ainsin revienne par ordre, après avoir achevé le tour. Toutefois ce ne sera pas pour ung quartier de la ville, mays pour toute l'esglise.⁴ Et pour ce faire on eslira heure commode et le dénuoncera-on partout, le dimenche devant. Affin qu'il n'y ayt rien de contemptible, mays que ce hault mistère soyt traicté en la plus grande dignité que possible sera, il nous a semblé advis le

¹ Cf. 'Haec consuetudo, quae semel quotannis communicare iubet, certissimum est Diaboli inventum. . . . Longe aliter factum oportuit; singulis ad minimum hebdomadibus proponenda erat Christianorum coetui mensa Domini' (*Institutio*, Cap. iv, ed. 1536; *Opera*, i. [= C. R. xxix.] 130).

² From the *Institutio*; Cap. iv. *ibid.* 126, 129.

³ i. e. the former church of the Franciscans.

⁴ Geneva was not re-divided into parishes till later.

meilleur que les ministres de la Parolle, desquelz proprement l'office est d'administrer tout ce que apertient aux mistères de Dieu, distribuent le pain et le vin, figures et sacremens du corps et du sang de N. S. ; et, affin que tout ce face en honesteté et sans tumulte ne insolence, nous avons proposé de fayre nostre debvoyr à remontrer et advertir quel ordre le peuple y debvra tenir, et admonester ung chascun de éviter confusion, et vous supplier de provoyr par le moyen que verrez expédiant, qu'il y aye bonne conduicte, veuz que S. Paul nous commande tant de y venir en singulière révérence.

[6] Mays le principal ordre qui est requis et duquel il convient avoir la plus grande sollicitude, c'est que ceste Sainte Cène, ordonnée et instituée pour conjoindre les membres de N. S. Jésus-Crist avecq leur chefz, et entre eux mesmes en ung corps et ung esprit, ne soyt souillée et contaminée, si ceux qui se déclairent et manifestent par leur meschante et inique vie n'appartenir nullement à Jésus viennent à y communiquer ; car en ceste profanation de son sacrement N. S. est grandement déshonoré. . . . Il fault doncq que ceux qui ont la puissance de fayre ceste police mettent ordre que ceux qui viennent à ceste communication soyent comme approuvéz membres de Jésus-Crist. Pour ceste cause N. S. a mise en son Esglise la correction et discipline d'excommunication. . . .

Ceste manière de correction a esté commandée du Seigneur à son Esglise, au 18^e de S. Mathieu. . . . Nous en avons l'exemple en S. Paul (1 Tim. i et 1 Cor. v). . . . Pourtant, s'il y a quelque crainte en nous de Dieu, il fault que ceste ordonnance aye lieu en nostre esglise. Encores les raysons mesmes sur quoy elle est fondée, et les fruicts qui en proviennent, nous debvroient esmouvoir à en user, quant il n'y auroyt pas si expès commandement : C'est premièrement, que Jhésu-Crist n'est pas blasphème et déshonneur, comment si son Esglise estoit une conjuration de gens pervers et dissoluz en tous vices. Secundement, que ceulx qui reçoivent telle correction, ayans honte et confusion de leur péché, viennent à se recognoëstre et se amender. Tiercement, que les autres ne sont pas corrompuz et pervertis de leur conversation, mays plustost par leur exemple sont advertiz de ne cheoyr en pareilles fautes.¹

Ceste usance et praticque a duré anciennement quelque temps en l'Esglise avecq singulière utilité et avancemant de la Crestienté, jusques à ce que aulecuns meschans évesques, ou plustost

¹ The three reasons are taken from the *Institutio*, ed. 1536 (*Opera*, i. [= C. R. xxix.] 76).

brigans tenans places d'évesques, l'ont tournée en tyrannye et en ont abusé à leurs mauvayses cupidités, tellement que c'est aujourduy l'une des choses plus pernicieuses et mauldictes qu'on voye au royaume du pape que l'excommunication, combien que ce soyt une des choses des plus prouffitables et salutayres que ayt donné N. S. à son Esglise. Or ceste faulte est advenue par ce que les pseudes évesques ont ravy à l'assemblée des fidèles et tiré à eux la cognoissance et puissance d'excommunier, laquelle véritablement ne leur apertenoyt pas par la Parolle; et après avoyr usurpé ceste domination, il l'hont convertie en toute perversité. Après doncques avoyr considéré que une esglise ne peult consister en son vray estat sans garder ceste ordonnance du [Seigneur], et qu'il seroyt fort à craindre que le contempnement ne fût pigny par une grande vengeance de Dieu, il nous az semblé advis estre expédient qu'elle fût remise sus en l'esglise et exercée selon la reigle que nous en avons en l'écriture, et néanmoins qu'on mist, d'autre part, bon ordre de ne tomber en inconvéniement de la dépraver et corrompre par mauvais usage.

Et, pour ce faire, nous avons deslibéré requérir de vous que vostre plaisir soit ordonner et eslire certaines personnes de bonne vie et de bon tesmoignage entre tous les fideles, pareillement de bonne constance, et que ne soyent poënt aysés de corrompre, lesquelz estans départis et distribués en tous les quartiers de la ville, ayant l'oïl sus la vie et gouvernement d'ung chascun; et s'il voyent quelque notable vice à reprendre en quelque personne, qu'il en communiquent avecq quelcung des ministres, pour admonester quicunque sera celluy lequel sera en faulte et l'exorter fraternellement de se corriger. Et si on veoyt que telles remonstrances ne profitent rien, le advertir que on signifiera à l'esglise son obstination; et lors s'il se recognoyt, voylà desjà un grand prouffit de ceste discipline. S'il n'y veult entendre, il sera temps que le ministre, estant advoué de ceux qui auront ceste charge, dénonce publiquement en l'assemblée le debvoyr qu'on aura faict de le retirer à amendement, et comment tout cela n'a rien profité. Adoncques on cognoëstra s'il veult persévérer en la dureté de son cueur, et lors sera temps de l'excommunier, c'est à sçavoyr qu'il soyt tenu comme rejecté de la compagnie des crestiens et laissé en la puissance du diable, pour une confusion temporelle, jusque à ce qu'il donne bonne apparence de sa pénitence et amendement; et, en signe de ce, qu'il soyt rejecté de la communion de la Cène, et qu'il soyt dénoncé aux aultres fidelles de ne converser poënt familière-

ment avecq luy ; touteſſoy, qu'il ne laiſſe poënt de venir aux prédications pour recepvoyr tousjours doctrine, afin d'eſprover toujours s'il playra au Seigneur luy toucher le cuer pour retourner en bonne voye. . . .

Velà comment il nous ſemble ung bon moyen de réduire l'excommunication en noſtre eſgliſe et l'entretenir en ſon entier. Et oultre ceſte correction, l'eſgliſe n'a poënt à procéder. Mais, ſ'il y en avoyt de ſi insolens et habandonnéz à toute perversité, qu'il ne ſe fiſſent que rire d'eſtre excommuniéz et ne ſe ſouciſſent de vivre et morir en telle réjection, ce ſera à vous à regarder ſi vous aurès à ſouffrir à la longue et laiſſé impugny ung tel contempnement et une telle mocquerie de Dieu et de ſon évangille.

Davantage, pour ce qu'il y a grandes ſuſpicions et quaſi apparences évidentes, qu'il y a encore pluſieurs habitans en ceſte ville qui ne ſe ſont aulcunement rengé à l'Évangille, mays il contredīſent tant qu'il peuvent, nourriſſant en leur cuer toutes les ſuperſtitious compētantes contre la Parolle de Dieu, ce ſeroyt une choſe bien expédiente de commencer premièrement à cognoēſtre ceux qui ſe veulent advouer de l'eſgliſe de Jhéſu-Criſt ou non. Car ſ'il eſt beſoīn de meſmes rejeter par excommunication de noſtre aſſemblée ceux qui vrayment et à juſte cauſe auroyent par avant eſté tenus comme membres d'icelle, combien plus eſt-il néceſſaire de diſcerner leſquelz on doyt recepvoyr pour membres, ou leſquelz on ne doyt acceper. Secundement, il eſt certain qu'il n'y a nulle plus grande diſiſion que de la foy, et pourtant, ſi ceux qui conviennent en foy avecq nous ſeulement pour leurs vices doiſvent eſtre excommuniéz, par plus forte rayſon ceux ne doiſvent eſtre tollérez en l'eſgliſe qui ſont du tout contrayres à nous en religion. Le remede doncq que avons penſé à cecy eſt de vous ſupplier que tous les habitans de voſtre ville ayent à fère confeſſion et rendre rayſon de leur foy, pour cognoēſtre leſquelz accordent à l'Évangille, et leſquelz aiment mieux eſtre du royaume du Pape que du royaume de Jhéſu-Criſt. Ce ſeroyt doncq un acte de magiſtratz creſtiens, ſi vous, Meſſieurs du Conſeil, chaſcun pour ſoy, faiſiez en voſtre Conſeil confeſſion, par laquelle on entendist que la doctrine de voſtre foy eſt vrayement celle par laquelle tous les fidelles ſont unis en une eſgliſe ; car par voſtre exemple vous monſtreriez ce que ung chaſcun auroyt à fayre en vous enſuyvant ; et après, ordonnez aulcuns de voſtre compagnie, qui, eſtans adjoinct avecq quelque miniſtre, requiſſent ung chaſcun de fayre de meſmes, et cela ſeroyt ſeulement pour ceſte foyſ, pourtant que

on n'a poënt encores discerné quelle doctrine ung chascun tient, qui est le droict commencement d'une esglise.

(2) L'autre part est des Pseaulmes, que nous désirons estre chantés en l'esglise,¹ comme nous en avons l'exemple en l'esglise ancienne et mesme le tesmoignage de S. Paul, qui dict estre bon de chanter en la congrégation de bouche et de cuer. Nous ne povons concepvoyr l'avancement et édification qui en procédera, si non après l'avoyr expérimenté. Certes comme nous faysons, les oraysons des fidelles sont si froides, que cela nous doyt tourner à grand honte et confusion. . . .

(3) Le troisième article est de l'instruction des enfans, les-queulx sans doubte doivent à l'Esglise une confession de leur foy. Pour ceste cause, anciennement on avoyt certain cathécisme pour instituer ung chascun aux fondemens de la religion crestienne, et qui estoit comme ung formulayre de tesmoignage dont ung chacun usoyt pour déclairer sa crestienté, et nommément les enfans estoient enseignéz de ce cathécisme pour venir testifier à l'Esglise leur foy, dont il n'avoient peu rendre tesmoignage à leur batesme. Car nous voyons que l'Escripture nous a conjoint tousjours la confession avecq la foy, et nous dict que si nous croyons véritablement de cuer à justice, qu'il nous fault confesser de bouche à salut ce que nous avons creu. Or si ceste ordonnance a jamays esté propre et convenable, elle est maintenant plus que nécessaire, veu le mespris de la Parolle de Dieu que nous voyons en la plus part et la négligence des parens à instruire leurs enfans en la voye de Dieu, dont on voyt une merveillieuse rudesse et ignorance en beaucoup, laquelle n'est aucunement tollérable en l'esglise de Dieu.

¹ Provision for metrical psalmody was first made in France by the humanist Clément Marot, 1495-†1544. He published *Trente Pseaumes de David, mis en francoys*. Imprimé à Paris, 1541 (cf. Bovet, *Histoire du Psautier*, 7 and App. I, No. 1). A second edition appeared at Geneva, 1542, as *La forme des prières et chants ecclesiastiques*, &c. (*ibid.* 17 and App. I, No. 3). It contained Marot's thirty psalms, with five others by Calvin (*ibid.* 211 sqq.). Marot published twenty more, fifty in all, by 1543 (*ibid.* 9 and App. I, No. 6). Beza, 1519-†1605, added the remainder; and from 1562 (*ibid.* 27 and App. I, No. 45) the 150 were contained in *Les Pseaumes mis en rime françois par Clément Marot et Théodore Bèze*. Thenceforward there was bound up with *Les Pseaumes* 'la Forme des prières, le Catéchisme, and le Confession du Foy' (*ibid.* Nos. 57, 94). For the influence of Genevan psalmody in France cf. *Calendar of State Papers, Foreign*, 1559-60, No. 930, § 4; and in England, where it was introduced by John Véron, †1563, Rector of St. Martin's, Ludgate:—'The xvij day of Marche [1560] dyd pryche at Powlles cross Veron, parson of St. Marttens att Ludgatt . . . and after the sermon done they songe all, old and yong, a salme in myter [metre], the tune of Genevay ways' (Machyn's *Diary*, 228).

L'ordre que nous avons advisé de y mettre, c'est qu'il y aye une briesve somme et facile de la foy crestienne, laquelle soyt aprinsé à tous les enfans, et que, certaines saisons de l'année, il viennent par devant les ministres pour estre interroguez et examinez et recepvoyr plus ample déclaration, selon qu'il sera besoing à la capacité d'ung chascun d'eux, jusques à ce qu'on les aye approuvéz estre suffisamment instruits. Mays que vostre playsir soyt fère commandement aux parens de mettre payne et diligence que leurs enfans apprennent icelle somme et qu'il se présentent aux ministres aux temps qu'il sera dict.

(4) Finalement, pour ce que le Pape a tant brouillé les causes de mariage en faysant degréz à son playsir, déterminant des divorces iniquement et contre toute rayson, que il est requis et nécessaire de vuyder les controversies qui en sont ensuyvies bien souvant par la Parolle de Dieu, nous avons délibéré vous supplier, pour avoyr la chose plus certainne, que vous donniez la charge et commission à certaines personnes de vostre compagnie de juger et decider toutes causes qui en viendront en avant, adjoignant avecq eux quelques ministres pour les mieux informer de ce qui sera de fère selon la Parolle de Dieu : lesquelz commissayres, avecq le conseil des dicts ministres, feront premièrement ordonnances de cas survenans communément, selon lesquelles il auront à juger, ce néantmoins après vous les avoyr présentées pour estre approuvées de par vous, devant que de procéder en avant. . . .

No. 285. The Councils accept the memorandum, with modifications, 16 Jan. 1537.

(a) *Conseil Ordinaire*.—Icy est esté parlé et sont estés leuz les articles donnés par M^e G. Farel et les aultres prédicans. Est arresté mettre en Conseil de 200 nostre advys qu'est que de la Cène elle se face quattres foyz l'an, que le batesme se doege faire tous les jours en la congrégation, que les mariages se doegent annoncer trois dimenches et esposer tous les jours en la congrégation et qu'il y aye ung homme de bien auquel l'on se adressera pour cognoistre les mariés pour leur signer leurs anunces, tellement que personne ne soit anuncé ny exposé (*épousé*) qu'il ne soit cogneu : aussi pour éviter le broillement que l'on se présente aujourd'uy a ung, demain a ung aultre, pour anuncer. Des causes matrimoniales nous en demorons qu'elles soyent cogneues en Conseil Ordinaire sans appellation ; mais premièrement l'on en aura conferance avecque les prescheurs et ministres pour se guyder joute la Parolle

de Dieu. La reste des articles est passée ainsin qu'il sont escriptz, adjoinct que l'on deffende aux femmes obstétrices de ne baptiser¹ point.

(b) *Même jour. Conseil des Deux-Cents.* Icy sont estés leus les articles et la résolution sus faicte en Conseil Ordinaire, et est arresté que l'arrest du Conseil Ordinaire est bien. . . .

No. 286. Confession de la Foi . . . de Genève,
27 April 1537.

(1) *De verbo Domini.*—Principio, pro fidei et religionis nostrae regula, nos unam Scripturam sequi velle profiteamur, neque illi admisceri quidquam patimur hominum sensu, citra verbum Dei, excogitatum: neque aliam in spirituale regimen doctrinam amplectimur quam quae ab eo verbo sumpta fuerit; ita ut nihil addatur nec detrahatur, quemadmodum docemur Dei interdicto.

(2) *De uno Deo.*—Itaque, ut Scripturae doctrina sumus instituti, Deum unum agnoscimus, quem omnes nos adorare, cui servire, in quo totam spem et fiduciam nostram reponere conveniat . . . atque ut spiritus est, ita in veritate et spiritu colendum credimus. Proinde abominationem esse ducimus, si quis fiduciam spemque suam in creatura reponat, si quem alium adoret, vel angelum, vel hominem; si quem alium pro animae suae domino recipiat, sive ex sanctis mortuis, sive ex vivis hominibus. Praeterea si cultum illi debitum in caeremoniis externis et carnalibus observationibus quis constituat, ac si talibus nugis Deus oblectaretur; si statuam aut imaginem repraesentandae eius divinitati erigat, aut ulla ratione adorandum proponat

(3) *Lex Dei Unica.*—Quandoquidem solus ille est Dominus, penes quem potestas et imperium in conscientias nostras esse debet: quando eius voluntas unica est universalis iustitiae regula, vitam nostram ad canonem sanctae legis ipsius exigendam esse confitemur: in qua omnis iustitiae perfectio comprehensa est. Nec aliam bene recteque vivendi regulam quaerimus: nec admittimus quaerenda esse alia bona opera, quibus

¹ Baptism by women was rejected by Calvin, *Institutio*, IV. xv, § 20, and by the Puritans in England, as in the *Admonition to Parliament* of 1572. Cf. Frere and Douglas, *Puritan Manifestoes*, 11, and Hooker, *Eccles. Pol.* V. lxii. The real objection was to 'dogma illud male expositum, Baptisma esse de necessitate salutis' (*Inst.*, loc. cit.); whence, as S. Thomas Aquinas taught, 'Ad misericordiam eius qui vult omnes homines salvos fieri pertinet ut in his quae sunt de necessitate salutis, homo de facili remedium inveniat' (*Summa*, III. lxvii. 3).

illi gratificemur, quam quae illic nobis commendavit, ut habetur Exod. xx. 2 sqq. . . .

(5) *Homo in se damnatus*.—Quum homo ita, ut dictum est, lumine ac iustitia Dei penitus sit natura vacuus, nihil in se ipso nisi certam iram ac maledictionem Dei expectare potest, ideoque salutis suae rationem extra se ipsum quaerere debet.

(6) *Salus in Christo*.—Iesum ergo Christum a Patre datum nobis fatemur, in quo recipiamus quidquid nobis apud nos deest. Quidquid autem fecit et passus est in redemptionem nostram Christum, extra controversiam verum esse ducimus: quemadmodum in Symbolo perscriptum habemus: *Credo &c.*

(12) *Invocatio Dei solius per Christi intercessionem*.—Quemadmodum supra testati sumus non alibi quam in Deo patre per Christum recidere salutis . . . fiduciam oportere, ita unum ipsum in omni necessitate invocandum dicimus: idque per Christi nomen, unici mediatoris et advocati, per quem accessus ad thronum coelestem nobis patet. Simul in omni prosperitate referendam illi gratiarum actionem. Contra vero, fictitiam illam Sanctorum qui ex vita hac demigrarunt intercessionem pro superstitione praeter Scripturam inventa explodimus: praesertim quum non aliunde nata fuerit quam ex diffidentia intercessionis Christi.

(14) *De Sacramentis*.—Sacramenta, quae Dominus ecclesiae suae commendavit, esse fidei exercitamenta confitemur: quae tum ad ipsam in Dei promissionibus confirmandam . . . tum apud homines testificandam valere debeant. Duo autem duntaxat Christianae ecclesiae, Dei auctoritate, instituta esse admittimus, Baptisum et Coenam Domini. Quam ob rem quod de sacramentis septem in regno Papae receptum est pro fabula ac mendacio habemus.

(15) *De Baptismo*.—Baptismus externum est signum, quo Dominus testatur se velle nos in filiorum locum cooptare, ceu Christi filii sui membra. Itaque nobis in eo repraesentatur peccatorum nostrorum purgatio, quam in Christi sanguine obtinemus: mortificatio carnis nostrae, quam consequimur ex eius morte, ut ipsi in posterum per Spiritum quem dedit nobis vivamus. Quando vero in eiusmodi foedere quod nobiscum percussit Dominus, liberos quoque nostros adhuc infantes, complexus est, signum externum iure illis communicari non dubitamus.

(16) *De Sancta Coena*.—Coena Domini signum est, quo sub pane et vino veram sed spiritualem communicationem quum in eius corpore et sanguine habemus, nobis repraesentat. Porro secundum eius institutum, inter fideles distribuendam

putamus, ut quicumque Christo in vitam suam frui volunt, eam simul participant. Iam vero quum Missa Papalis maledictum et diabolicum inventum fuerit, in eversionem mysterii sanctae Coenae confictum, nobis execrabilem esse pronunciamus, non secus ac idololatriam a Deo damnatam. Idque multis rationibus: nempe, quatenus pro sacrificio in redemptionem animarum aestimatur, quatenus etiam panis illic Dei loco adoratur. Etiam ut praetereamus horrendas alias blasphemias et superstitiones, ac pravam divini verbi abusum, quod illic frustra, nullo cum fructu, nulla aedificatione usurpatur.

(17) *De humanis traditionibus.*—Quae retinendae externae ecclesiarum politiae necessariae sunt leges . . . pro humanis traditionibus non ducimus: quum sub generali apostoli praecepto comprehendantur, quo decenter et ordine geri omnia inter nos iubet. Verum quae in hoc . . . statuuntur ut conscientias illaqueent, ut necessitatem earum rerum iniciant quae non sunt a Deo praeceptae, ut cultum Dei erigant alium quam quem ipse postulat, quia Christianam libertatem . . . violant, ceu Satanae perversa dogmata, damnamus. . . Quo numero reponimus votivas peregrinationes, monachatus, ciborum discrimina, matrimonii prohibitionem, auricularem confessionem, et id genus reliqua.

(18) *De ecclesia.*—Tametsi unica est Christi ecclesia, fieri tamen non aliter posse agnoscimus quin fidelium conventus in varia loca distribuantur, quorum singuli vocantur ecclesiae. Et vero quum non omnes pariter coetus in nomine Domini conveniant, quin potius plerique ad ipsum suis sacrilegiis pollendum coguntur, certissimam discernendae Christi ecclesiae notam et tesseram esse hanc reputamus: ut illic iudicemus esse ecclesiam ubi pure ac fideliter verbum Domini adnunciatur, auditur et servatur: ubi sacramenta legitime administrantur, utcumque multum adhuc imperfectionum et lapsuum supersit, ut vitia nunquam in hac vita inter homines abstergentur. Contra, ubi evangelium nec adnunciari nec audiri nec recipi videmus, illic nullam agnoscimus ecclesiae faciem.

(19) *De excommunicatione.*—(Quoniam vero nunquam desunt Dei ac sacri eius verbi contemptores, apud quos nihil monendo, exhortando, reprehendendo proficitur: asperiori cum illis castigatione agendum ducimus. In hunc usum excommunicationis disciplinam rem sanctam ac fidelibus salubrem testamur: ut revera non sine ratione a Domino instituta fuit. Hic autem finis est, ne impura sua consuetudine flagitiosi bonos inquinent: ne dedecori sint Deo et ecclesiae: ut pudore suffusi

aliquando resipiscant. Quapropter expedire^r arbitramur, ut secundum Dei institutum, omnes manifestarii idololatrae, sacrilegi, homicidae, fures, scortatores, falsi testes, seditiosi, rixatores, obtractatores, percussores, ebriosi, decoctores, et eius formae caeteri, nisi in viam se receperint, ubi legitime fuerint admoniti, e fidelium consortio exterminentur, donec resipiscentiae signa dederint.

(20) *De ministris verbi.*—Non alios reputamus ecclesiae pastores quam fidos verbi Dei ministros, et qui Christi gregem eo pascant, docendo, admonendo, consolando, exhortando, reprehendendo prout necessitas postularit: rursum, eodem verbo, falsis doctrinis omnibus ac Satanae imposturis strenue resistent, nihil Scripturae puritati de sua admiscentes, nec sua somnia aut mendacia ingerentes. Nec aliud quidpiam imperii vel auctoritatis illis deferimus, quam ut Dei populum sibi creditum eodem verbo deducant regant et moderentur. Cuius ministerium dum exercent, ius habent ac potestatem iubendi, prohibendi, promittendi et minandi: ut sine ipso nihil tentare neque aggredi possunt aut debent. Porro ut fideles verbi ministros non secus atque ipsius Dei nuncios ac legatos suscipimus quos perinde ac Deum ipsum auscultare oporteat: horumque ministerium et Dei mandato adprobatum, et ecclesiae necessarium esse credimus: ita e converso pronunciamus impostores, omnesque pseudoprophetas qui, relicta evangelii puritate, ad sua commenta declinant, nequaquam esse ferendos, qualescunque pastorum titulos praeferant: quin potius, ceu lupos rapaces e medio ecclesiae eliminandos et abigendos.

(21) *De magistratu.*—Dominationem ac potestatem tam regum ac principum quam reliquorum magistratuum inter res sanctas ac legitimas Dei ordinationes numeramus. Atque ut illi, dum munere suo perfunguntur, Deo serviunt et Christianam sequuntur vocationem, sive innocentibus opitulentur quos inique opprimi videant, sive improborum audaciam, severe in eos vindicando, coerceant: sic nos vicissim eos revereri debemus ac suscipere, subiectionem ac obedientiam illis exhibere, eorum iussa exsequi, onera et munia ab illis imposita proferre, quatenus citra Dei offensionem liceat. Denique non secus atque Dei vicarii aestimandi sunt, quibus repugnare nemo possit; quin cum ipso Deo bellum gerat. Illorum etiam munus pro sancta administratione a Deo demandata est habendum, ad quod sunt assumpti, ut nobis praesint ac dominantur. Quamobrem Christiani hominis partes esse iudicamus magistratuum, sub quibus agit, prosperitatem precibus Deo commen-

dare : legibus atque edictis, quæ cum Dei praeceptis non pugnant, obedienter parere : publicam tum utilitatem tum tranquillitatem promovere : principum honori ac communi totius populi bono ex animo studere, ab omnibus factionibus religiose abstinere, unde turbae ac tumultus nasci queant. Contra vero eos omnes qui infideles se gerunt erga magistratum, nec ad publicam regionis in qua versantur utilitatem curandam animum applicant, pronunciamus ea perversitate prodere suam in Deum perfidiam.

No. 287. Anabaptists in Geneva, 9 March 1537.

Reg. Cons.—March 9.—Icy sont esté oys Herman de Gerbihan et Audry Benoît de Anglen en Brabant disans vouloir disputer aux prédicans. Est arresté avecque eulx ilz doegent mettre leurs articles par escript.

March 13.—Icy est parlus des Catabaptistes et lisu leurs articles et pource qu'il seroit dangereux en disputer publiquement pour la tendreté des esprys, est resolu les oyr demain en Conseil des Deux Centz. . . .

March 14.—Sont leu les articles de Herman de Lyege Kathabaptiste et proposé l'arrest faictz sus ce que le dit Herbrand a proposé les dictz articles et comment le Pety Conseil est d'advys les oyr en Conseil de Deux Centz, non pas disputer en publicque ; attendu ce que la chose est dangereuse. Surquoy est esté arresté qu'on les oye en Conseil des ii c., mais que les dits Catabaptistes se sobmettent à poenne et à tenir ordre de dispute comment font. Surquoy sont entrés en propos comment est escript en ung feuillet ; et après ce M^o Farel a requys, que la chose soit disputée publiquement. Surquoy est esté résolu que ces gens suyent aoyz publiquement : ce que leur est refferu. Ils le acceptent et tous sont prest soubstenir au condescendre pour la vye se soubmettent à la vye.

March 16.—Icy Pon avecque deux Katabaptiste dispute tout le long du jour a Riva.

March 17.—Est esté disputé tout le jour.

March 18.—*Cons. des Deux-Cents.*—Icy est esté mys en avant le propos de la dispute et . . . est arresté que des icy en avant icelle dispute cesse. . . . Fuerunt etiam petiti Farellus et socii et leur sont faictes les remonstrances de ceste dispute et dict qu'il ne doegent plus oir telles gens sus tel propos. Puy sont demandés, les dits Herman et Audry Benoît, et leur est

esté remonstré comment l'on les a bien volsû oyr, car nous oyons chescung, et que estant estés entendues leur propositions amenées lesquelles il ne peuvent maintenir véritables par les Escriptions, avons prononcé icelles estre errantes de vérité: puyz leur demandé si se veulent desdire et retourner a Dieu luy demandant pardon: hont respondu que il soy soumettent à la volonté de Dieu et que il ne se desdiront point. Hont demandé que l'on leur monstre l'injonction de baptiser. Nota que premièrement l'on les appelloit frères; mais, puis que ils sont dissonans à nostre esglise, que l'on ne les y appelle plus: car il ne veulent prier avecque nous.

March 19.—*Cons. des Deux-Cents*.—Fuit propositum negotium illorum Katabaptistarum: sur lesquelz a esté advisé que iceulx et tous aultres de leur secte soyent perpetuellement bannys de ceste cité et terres d'icelle, sus poenne de la vye. Cecy est arresté de prononcer ceans portes ouvertes. Iceulx sont demandés s'il veulent revocquer leur opinion. Hont respondu que leur conscience ne leur porte de tenir aultrement que il tiennent. Pourquoy est prononcé ilz soyent perpetuellement bannys.

No. 288. Caroli accuses Farel and Calvin of Arianism, 17 Feb. 1537.

(1) *From a letter of the pastors of Geneva to the pastors of Bern*, c. 20 Feb. . . . Illi,¹ exposita legatis vestris² causa, qui tum ad res provinciae constituendas illic forum agebant, effecerunt ut accerseretur [scil. Carolus]. Rogatus est ab illustri viro Gyrono³, vestrae civitatis secretario, ut a fratribus placide se admoneri pateretur. Sed omissa causae praesentis mentione, quin palam testatus rationem se eius rei, nisi coram Senatu collegioque vestro, non redditurum, furiose in nos debacchari coepit extra causam. Multae fuerunt maledictorum formae, sed omnium haec atrocissima est, quod totam nostram cohortem Arriano errore inquinatam pronunciavit.

Ad refutandam indignissimam criminationem, caput nostrae Confessionis⁴ recitavit Calvinus quo ita scriptum erat: 'Dum Patrem, Filium ac Spiritum nominamus, non tres deos nobis

¹ Viret and Calvin.

² The five Bernese commissioners of 5 Jan. 1537 charged with the execution of the edict of 24 Dec. 1536 in the Pays de Vaud.

³ Pierre Giron, one of the five commissioners.

⁴ The Catechism, apparently already in MS. in Latin, but not published in Latin till 1538. For these extracts cf. *Opera*, v. [= C. R. xxxiii.] 337 sq.

tingimus; sed, in simplicissima Dei unitate, et Scriptura et ipsa pietatis experientia Deum Patrem, eius Filium ac Spiritum nobis ostendunt: ut concipere intelligentia nostra Patrem nequeat quin et Filium simul complectatur, in quo viva eius imago relucet, et Spiritum, in quo potentia virtusque eius conspicua est. In uno igitur Deo tota mentis cogitatione defixi haereamus, interim tamen Patrem cum Filio et Spiritu suo contemplemur.' Rursum de Christo: 'Filius Dei praedicatur, non, ut fideles, adoptione duntaxat et gratia, sed naturalis et verus, ideoque unicus, ut a caeteris discernatur. Dominus autem noster est, non tantum secundum divinitatem quam cum Patre unam ab aeterno habuit, sed in ea carne in qua exhibitus nobis fuit.'

Quis eius confessionis vel auctores vel subscriptores Arrianos iudicet? Perstitit tamen qua coeperat rabie strenuus sycophanta, ac eiusmodi confessione sibi nequaquam satisfieri asseveravit. Cum exciperet Calvinus ea lege nos edere in praesens eiusmodi confessionem, ut fidem nostram bonis omnibus, dum opus foret, luculentius approbare parati essemus, -- 'Facesant,' inquit, 'novae confessiones, ac tribus symbolis potius subscribamus.' Ad haec Calvinus nos in Dei unius fidem iurasse respondit, non Athanasii,¹ cuius symbolum nulla unquam legitima ecclesia approbasset. Legati quia nullum altercationibus finem futurum videbant, totam istam cognitionem in fratrum conventum reiecerunt, quem polliciti sunt propediem se curaturos.²

(2) *From a letter of Calvin to Simon Grynaeus, at Basel, 7 or 8 June, 1537.* . . . Siquidem non levis momenti rem esse ducebamus, si caput religionis nostrae praecipuum inter nos controverti adversarii nostri audirent, vel ecclesiae quidquam de nobis tale suspicarentur. . . . Sycophanta ille³ Senatusconsulto in exilium actus est, nos plane absoluti, non a crimine modo, sed ab omni quoque suspicione.⁴ Quanquam vero se Athanasii titulo nunc venditet, qui poenas luat defensae fidei,

¹ He also spoke of the Nicene Creed thus: -- 'Vides autem in his verbis esse battologiam, 'Deum de Deo, lumen de lumine, Deum verum de Deo vero'. Quorsum ista repetitio? . . . Vides ergo carmen esse, magis cantillando aptum quam formulam confessionis' (*Opera* vii. [= *C. R.* xxxv.] 315 sq.).

² The commissioners reported in favour of a synod (Herminjard, iv, No. 610, n. 12), and Farel, Calvin, and Viret were acquitted at the synods of 14 May 1537, Lausanne (*ibid.* No. 631, and *Calvini Opera*, vii. [= *C. R.* xxxv.] 310 sqq.; cf. Ruchat, v. 24-30), and of, 31 May-2 June, Bern (*Opera*, vii. [= *C. R.* xxxv.] 325 sqq. and x b [= *C. R.* xxxviii.], 105 sq., cf. Ruchat, v. 30-8).

³ Caroli; for the immoralities proved against him cf. Ruchat, v. 31 sq.

⁴ But see the next extract, of 13 Aug.

nullum tamen fore periculum videtur ut orbis^{*} pro Athanasio sacrilegum, scortatorem, homicidam sanctorum multorum sanguine madentem, agnoscat. . . .

(3) *The Council of Bern to Farel and Calvin*, 13 Aug. 1537.—Sçavants, discreets, chiers et bons amys! Nous sommes esté advertis par aulcungs de nous prédicants, tant de la terre de Gex¹ que aultres, que cherchés tousjours de leurs inculquer vostre intention et opinion de la nullité des moctz Trinité et Personne pour yceulx jà dictz prédicants dévier de la costume et manière de parle[r] de la Trinité recephue de l'Esglise catholique. Et mesmement est venuz à nostre notice que vous, Caulvin, ayés escript une lettre à certain François estant à Basle, disante que vostre Confession² soit esté adprouvée en nostre congrégation, et nous prédicants avoir ycelle ratifiée; ce que ne ce [se] contera pas, ains le contraire, [savoir] que vous et Pharel avés adoncque esté consantant et accordant de subsigner la nostre faicte au dit Basle,³ et vous tenir d'ycelle. Dont nous esbaïssons que tâchés [tâchiez] d'y contrevenir par tels propos, vous prians vous en voulloir déporter. Aultrement, sceurons contrainct d'y pourveoir d'aultre remède.

No. 289. The Councils enforce the Confession of Faith, May-Nov. 1537.

May 1.—Icy est esté aoyz M^e G. Farel et Cauvin . . . de suyvre les articles de la foy . . . des articles l'on advise de suyvre le mieulx que se porra.

July 29.—*Cons. de Deux-Cents*.—Iuxta hesternum arrestum petuntur predicantes Farellus et Calvinus cum cæco Corello. Admonent, instant fiant excommunicatio et confessio ut alias fuit passatum; et que l'on doege deputer des gens de seans pour enquerir et admonester ceulx qu'il se trouvent offenser Dieu et que soit faicte confession par tous ceulx de la ville comment il veulent vivre, disans les articles aultresfois estre passés. Est arresté que l'on doege appelle tous les dizennier et première-

¹ Gex was a bailiwick adjoining Geneva, but belonging to Bern by treaty of 7 Aug. 1536.

² The *Confessio ecclesiae Genevensis* presented by Calvin and his colleagues to the Synods of Lausanne, 14 May, and Bern, June 1537; and printed, 1545, in his anonymous *Defensio Nicolai Gallasii*, 39-45 (*Opera*, vii. [= C. R. xxxv.] 311 sqq.), and as *Confessio de Trinitate propter calumnias P. Caroli* (*Opera*, ix. [= C. R. xxxvii.] 703 sqq.).

³ i. e. the *Confessio Helvetica Prior* (= *Confessio Basiliensis Posterior*) of 1536; see it in Niemeyer, *Collectio Confessionum Ecclesiarum Reformatarum*, 105 sqq.

ment scavoir de eulx leur confession et s'il veulent vivre comme desia est la confession publiée, et ceulx qu'il ne seront cogneust suffisants soyent ostés et mys d'aultres suffisans. Dès la leur sera donnée charge de tenir main sur ceulx de leur dizenne et ceulx qu'il verront ne suyvre les commandementz de Dieu il les exortent, et si ne se amendent que le dizennier en prenne deux ou trois avecque soy et les exortent avecque commination que autrement il le revelleront à la justice, et puyz le reveller s'il ne se chastient, et la justice doege procéder selon le mérite du cas à bannissement. De la Confession : que l'on donne ordre faire que tous les dizenniers amerront leurs gens dizenne par dizenne en l'esglise S. Pierre, et la leur seront leuz les articles touchant la Confession en Dieu et seront interrogués s'il veulent cela tenir : aussi sera faict le serment de fidélité à la ville.

Nov. 12.—Icy est proposé comment hier furent demandés les gens dizenne par dizenne qu'il n'avoient encore faict le serment de la Refformation, et plusieurs veinrent et des aultres non : et mesmement ceulx de la Rue des Allamans desquelz n'est veny pas ung. Arresté que leur soit faict commandement que s'il ne veulent tielle Refformation jurer qu'il vuydent la ville et allent autrepert demorer ou il vivront à leur plaisir.

Nov. 15. *Cons. de Deux-Cents.*—Icy est aussy proposé comment il y en a plusieurs qu'il sont estez demandez à venir à la congrégation à S. Pierre qu'il ne sont point voolus venir. Surquoy le Conseil Ordinaire a arresté de leur faire commandement de vuyder la ville, puyz qu'il ne veulent obéir. Surquoy icy est resolu celluy arrest estre bon.

No. 290. The Council of Two Hundred repudiates excommunication, 3-4 Jan. 1538.

Jan. 3.—Les prédicants Farel, Calvinus et Corauld sont venus expose[r] que en la Cène ordonnée de Dieu ne doit ventr gens dissonens à l'union des fidelles ny semans division : pourquoy, puyz que dimenche prochain¹ est arresté celebrer la senne, il ne sont de advys il recepvoyr ceulx qu'ils scaivent estre desunys, et poutant demandent l'advis de Messieurs.

—Icy l'on a veu une missive de Berne à cause de nostre générale et publique confession qu'il entendent avoir causé certains rebelles, et nous prient nous voloir ensemble appoincter.

—... Quant à la sene, l'on tiendra demain le Conseil de 200, et seront demandés George des Clefs et Mat. Maich qu'il n'ont

¹ Jan. 6, the first Sunday in the quarter; which, as such, would be one of the four times a year for Communion (cf. *Hermanjard*, iv, No. 602, n. 17).

juré la confession : il aoyront lire la lettre de Berne, puy les induyra l'on à jurer la confession comment les aultres.

Jan. 4. *Cons. de Deux-Cents.*—Icy est proposée la lettre de Berne à cause de la pacification des questions pour la confession premièrement faicte overtes. Et est sus icelle parlé d'envoyer querre aulcungs non accordans de la dite confession, nommement G. des Clez, Matieu Malich, Pierre Ameaulx, pour les exorter à faire selon le cours commung. Item est parlé que les prédicans disent que bonnement il ne porroient donner la Sene aux contrarians à l'union. Est arresté que l'on ne reffuse la Sene à personne.

No. 291. The Two Hundred vote the Bernese Ceremonies, 11-12 March 1538.

March 11. *Cons. de Deux-Cents.*—Monathon et autres, au nom de la généralité, ont proposé, suyvan le Conseil général tenu ces deux dimenche passé . . . que l'on doye advertir les prédican qu'[ls] ne ce mesle poën de la politique, més qu'[ls] preschent l'évangile de Dieu. . . . Plus, de vivre en la Parolle de Dieu, joste [selon] les ordonance de Messieurs de Berne.¹ [Il] attesté resolu comme desus est proposé.

March 12. . . . L'on az deffenduz az Me. G. Farel et Me. Calvinus de poïen se mesler du magistrat.

No. 292. Bern insists on their adoption, 15 April 1538.

(1) *Bern to Calvin and Farel.*—Très-docts, &c. Après qu'avons entendus la conclusion du Seine de Lausanne, aussy les proposts qu'avés tenus au dit lieu² et en parthyé la consultation qu'avés cherchée à Strassburg et Basle, summes occasionés de vous prier et admonester en fraternelle amitié, pour bien de

¹ For the Bernese ceremonies cf. *supra* No. 281; and add that Geneva besides abandoning fonts, all feasts other than Sundays and unleavened bread, had also forbidden bridal ornaments, i.e. accordance with 1 Pet. iii. 3 (cf. *Calvini Opera*, x b [= *C. R.* xxxviii.], 132 n. 2; Ruchat, iv. 451, v. 62). On 30 March 1537, at the Council, 'est parlé que dimenche passé fust sortie une épouse de cheu [chez] la magistria qui porta les cheveux plus abbattu que ne se devoit faire, qu'est mauvais exemple et contre ce que leur evangelizé. Est arresté que les deux qui menarent l'épouse, celle que la lya et la magistria sa maistresse, soyent mis 3 jours en prison pour chastigation' (*ibid.* xxi. [= *C. R.* xlix.] 216).

² sc. with the ministers of Bern. They agreed, save as to feasts other than Sundays; and Farel and Calvin insisted on the literal obligation of 'Sex diebus operaberis' (*Opera*, x b [= *C. R.* xxxviii.] 182).

paix et avancement d'union, que [il] soit de vostre plaisir de accorder à la dite conclusion et ycelle accepter, afin que l'esglise de Genève et la nostre, que sont quant au fondement de la foy unies, quant aux cérémonies aussy soyent conformes. Cela faisant, ousterés l'occasion à nous ennemys de calumnier.

A ceste cause, vous fraternellement et très-acertes prions et admonestons d'adviser avec vostre magistrat, auquel nous pour cestuy affayre escripvons¹, et faire sur le tout sy bonne résolution, que l'on ne puisse disre aucune différence estre entre nous, considérant que la dissension n'est de sy grosse importance qu'elle puisse nuire à la verité, quant vous accepterés les trois articles au dit Seine par tous les ministres conclus, assavoir de baptiser sur le baptistère, usant en la Cène de N. S. du pain azime, et observant les quatres festes. En ce vous plaise, pour l'amour de nous, et pour le bien d'union entre nous, condescendre, non suspendant l'affaire, jusque à la journée qui soy tiendra à Zurich². En tant priant Dieu que nous doint sa grâce de vivre saintement !

(2) *Bern to the Council of Geneva*.—Nobles, magnifiques Seigneurs, singuliers amys, très-chiers et féaulx combourgeois ! Puis qu'avés desiréz de vous faire conformes quant aux cérémonies avec nous, vous voulons bien nottifier la conclusion du Seine dernièrement tenu à Lausanne, qu'est tieulle : que tous les ministres de nous pays conquestés ont accordé de baptiser les enfans sus le baptistère ; secondement, de user, en la Cène de N. S., du pain non fermenté, toutesfoys la forme d'ycelluy libère petite ou grande ; tiercement, d'observer les quatres festes que nous avons instituées.

A ceste cause, pour entretènement de union entre vostres et nostres esglises, vous prions et admonestons fraternellement d'accepter mesme forme, et, avec vous ministres Maistre Calvin et Farell, amyablement sur ce convenir, auxquels nous avons aussy escript pour ce mesme affaire. Espérant que, puis bien qu'il ayent fait quelque difficulté, il adviseront du mieulx pour conformité des dictes esglises. Ce que Dieu par sa grâce permecte !

No. 293. The Council demands their adoption by the preachers, 19 April 1538.

Reg. Cons.—Recyve une missive de Berne touchant du seyne tenus az Lausanne, pour adviser si voullons observer les cérémonies comprises en ycelle, lesquelles az esté resoluz d'observer selon le grand Conseil général. Non obstant, az esté advisé de

¹ Cf. next letter.

² Herminjard, v, No. 708, *infra*, No. 295.

monstrer la dite missive az Farel et Calvinus prédicans, abqu'eux leur az esté lyseuz et leur az esté fayct les remonstrances voyr si veullent observer les dites cérémonies ab [ou] non, et leur az esté donné terme pour respondre. Resoluz que l'on doyye suyvre az laz forme de la dite missive spécialement touchant laz Cenne. Lesdits prédicans ont prié de non point volloyr fère chose de nouveau jusques az laz Penthecoste, et que entre cy et la se tiendraz un seyne az Zhuryt et Estrabour.

... Az esté resoluz que laz Cennaz [du 21 avril, jour de Pâques] se fasse s'il est possible fère az laz forme de la dite missive [de Berne ... et] d'aller trover Calvinus et Farel prédicans, voyr si veullent presche[r] az laz forme az eux proposée abjourd'uy selon laz missive de Berne; synon, d'aller envoyer querre les deux prédicans que M. le baillifz de Ternier nous az présenté.

... M. le Souttier estant revenus devers Farel et Calvin, az refferuz que totalement ne veullent prêcher ny donner laz Cenne az laz forme de la dite missive.

No. 294. Farel and Calvin banished from Geneva, 21-3 April 1538.

April 21.—Az esté proposé comment Farel et Calvin, oultre les deffenses az leur faycte de non point prêcher az cause de ce qu'il ne veulle pas optemperer az laz missive de Berne ... sont aller prêcher, Calvin az S. Pierre et Farel az S. Gervays. Az esté resoluz que touchant laz Cennaz qu'elle se fasse tant seullement dymenche qu'il vien: et cependant regarder de mectre bon ordre abdit affère. Resoluz ausy de tenyr demaien le Conseyl des 200, et mardy prochaïen le Conseyl Général pour proposer les affaires. ...

April 22. *Cons. des Deux-Cents*.—Az esté lyseuz les troys letres de Berne touchant du syenne de Lausanne, et touchant les cérémonies. ... Az esté resoluz de vivre selon lesdites cérémonies. Az esté proposé comment les prédicans ne veullent pas obeyr ab magistral. ... Az esté resoluz ... que l'on leur donne congie. ...

April 23. *Cons. Gén.*—... Az esté totalement resoluz par plus grand voys qu'il volloyent vivre selon les cérémonies accordés az Lausanne. ... Touchant de Farel et Calvinus ... laz plus grand voys az arresté qu'il doyyent vuyder laz ville dans troys jours prochaïen.

Petit Conseil.—M. le Souttier est aller fère commandement az M^e G. Farel et az Calvinus de non plus prescher dans laz

ville et laz absente dans troys jours prochaïen comment az esté resoluz en Général. Surquoy on respondus les dits prédicans : Est bien ! az laz bonne heure ! Si nous heussions servy les hommes, nous fussions mal recompenser : més nous servons ung grand maystre que nous recompenseraz. Calvinus az respondus cecy dessus. M^e Farel ausy az responduz : az laz bonne heure ! et bien de par Dieu !

XVI

CALVIN IN EXILE, 1538-41

The exiles laid their complaints, 27 April 1538, before Bern (Herminjard, iv, No. 705) and before, 29 April-4 May, [No. 295] a Synod of Zürich (*ibid.* v, No. 708). The Synod advised them 'to moderate their misplaced rigour and to show some Christian tender-heartedness towards a people so undisciplined' (*Opera*, x b [= *C. R.* xxxviii.] 193) as the Genevese ; but it urged Bern to press for their restoration (Herminjard, v, No. 713, n. 2). Bern did so, 23 May (*ibid.* No. 717, n. 22), and escorted them to Geneva. But to no effect. They were forbidden, 26 May, to enter the city (*Opera*, xxi. [= *C. R.* xlix.] 230). On 23 July (Herminjard, v, No. 731, n. 1) Farel withdrew to Neuchâtel, where, save for an adventurous visit to Metz, 1542-3, he remained till his death, 13 Sept. 1565. Calvin, on the invitation, 1 Aug. (*ibid.* No. 729), of Bucer settled at Strassburg, where he became, 8 Sept. (*ibid.* No. 743, n. 10; *Opera*, xxi. [= *C. R.* xlix.] 235) pastor of French refugees at S. Nicholas, and, Jan. 1539, lecturer in theology (Herminjard, v, No. 767) with, from 1 May, a salary from the town (*ibid.* n. 19). Here he brought out, 1 Aug., the second edition of the *Institutio* (*Opera*, i. [= *C. R.* xxix.] 253; xxi. [= *C. R.* xlix.] 250), which had already placed him in the first rank among theologians ; and, 18 Oct., the preface (Herminjard, vi, No. 828) to his exposition of *Romans* (*Opera*, xlix. [= *C. R.* lxxvii.] 1 sqq.), published March 1540, whence his equal distinction among exegetes. When, therefore, 18 March 1539, [No. 296] Jacopo Sadoletto, 1477-†1547, Cardinal Bishop of Carpentras, 1517-40, took advantage of their recent dissensions to invite the Genevese to return to the Church (*ibid.* v. [= *C. R.* xxxiii.] 369 sqq.), it fell almost naturally, though at the suggestion of Bern (Herminjard, v, No. 811, n. 11), to, 1 Sept., [No. 297] Calvin to reply (*Opera*, v. [= *C. R.* xxxiii.] 385 sqq.). His answer, which, as Luther wrote to Butzer, he had read 'cum singulari voluptate' (de Wette, v. 211) contained an able defence of the Reformation, prophetic of the standing which Calvin was afterwards to attain as the only international Reformer. On 30 Jan. 1540 the Council in Geneva ordered it to be printed (*Opera*, xxi. [= *C. R.* xlix.] 255); and this step marks the decline of the party which had expelled him. On 8 Feb. new Syndics were

elected (*Opera*, xxi. [= *C. R.* xlix.] 256), two¹ of the exiled preachers' faction, now called *Guillermains* after Guillaume Farel, and two² of the once 'patriot' but now rather Bernese faction or *Articulants* [*Artichaulds*], so called from the articles of a treaty, 30 March 1539, by which their three³ leaders, or *Articulants* proper, surrendered to Bern the rights secured to Geneva under the treaty (cf. No. 267 *supra*, ii, § 4) of 7 Aug. 1536 (cf. Dunant, *Les Relations politiques de Genève*, c. ii). On 5 June 1540 the three who, with two⁴ others, had procured the banishment of Farel and Calvin, were condemned to death (*Opera*, xxi. [= *C. R.* xlix.] 258), and, 10 June, the remaining leader of the party, Jean Philippe, the Captain-General, was executed (*ibid.*). The Guillermains thereupon, 1 July, returned to power (*ibid.* 262), under the leadership of Ami Perrin: and, 21 Sept., he was charged 'de trouver moyeant si pourroy fere venyr M^e Caulvin' (*ibid.* 265). In a letter of 22 Oct. [No. 298] the three Councils begged Calvin to return (Herminjard, vi, No. 900). He was then on his way (*ibid.* No. 901) to the Colloquy of Worms, 28 Oct. 1540—18 Jan. 1541, and again, 19 Feb. (*ibid.* vii, No. 944) to the Colloquy of Regensburg, 27 April—25 May 1541 (cf. his report in *Opera*, v. [= *C. R.* xxxiii.] 509 sqq.): and most reluctant to face Geneva again (Herm. vi, No. 951). But, at length, constrained once more by Farel's 'thunders' (*ibid.* Nos. 950, 953), threatened by Bucer with the fate of Jonah (*Opera*, xxxi. [= *C. R.* lix.] 25), and urged by, 4 April, [No. 299] the pastors of Zürich (Herminjard, vii, No. 961), he gave in. On 13 Sept. [No. 300] Calvin re-entered Geneva, and the discipline with him (*Opera*, xxi. [= *C. R.* xlix.] 282), 'for that he saw how needful these bridles were, to be put in the jaws of that city' (Hooker, *Ecl. Pol.*, Preface, ii, § 7).

No. 295. The Synod of Zürich, 29 April— 4 May 1538.

Farel and Calvin to the Synod.

(1) Ex tribus conformitatis capitibus quae nobis sunt proposita⁵ primum, de baptisteriis erigendis, nos facile admissuros iam antehac testati sumus, modo in caeteris nihil ex ritu hactenus observato immutetur: nempe ut baptismus ipse, quibus horis ecclesia convenire solet, administretur, et eius doctrina, quo melius exaudiri queat, e suggestu recitetur.

(2) In mutando pane paulo maiori difficultate constringimur. Nuper enim perspeximus quantum offensionis exoriturum erat si qua tunc facta fuisset mutatio. Nos tamen daturos fidelis-

¹ Estienne de Chapeaurouge and Jean Philippin.

² Estienne Dada and Antoine Gerbel.

³ Ami de Chapeaurouge, Jean Lullin, and Jean Monathon.

⁴ Claude Richardet and Jean Philippe.

⁵ Sc. by the Council, *supra*, No. 293.

simam operam recipimus, ut panis^{*} azymi usus in ecclesiam nostram inducatur. Sed hoc vicissim cupimus a Bernatibus impetratum, ut fractionem panis nobiscum recipiant, ne posthac de hac quoque differentia nova quaestio nascatur.

(3) In feriis plurima laboramus perplexitate, quemadmodum semper sumus professi, neque alia conditione concedere possumus istas quatuor institui, nisi ut tollatur nimium imperiosa earum indictio, ac liberum sit iis qui volunt post concionem ad opus se conferre.¹ Non tamen fenestram audemus aperire tot turbis, quas emersuras iam prospicimus, si aliter fiat.

(4) Haec autem nobis optima et convenientissima censetur ratio recipiendae conformitatis, si legati Bernatium palam testentur, caeremonias hactenus apud nos observatas sibi minime improbari, neque se quidpiam in illis novatum ideo cupere quod Scripturae puritate alienum iudicent; sed unam se concordiam et unitatem spectare, quae rituum similitudine melius coalescere solet.² Concio etiam a nobis habeatur de caeremoniarum libertate, deinde ad conformitatem populum adhortemur, propositis eius rationibus. Demum liberum ecclesiae iudicium permittatur. Sic enim occurreret offensus, bonorum animi praeparabuntur, qui nunc aliquantum sunt aversi, et res quo decet ordine geretur.

(5) Si de nobis restituendis agitur, istud imprimis cupimus curatum, ut ad diluendas calumnias quibus oppressi sumus, admittamur. Barbaries enim et inhumanitas fuit non ferenda, quod indefensos damnarunt, cum nos ad causam dicendam pro curiae foribus praesto essemus. Obnoxium siquidem futurum est nostrum ministerium impiorum maledicentiae, quamdiu iactare poterunt per culpae deprecationem fuisse restitutos. Iactabunt autem haud dubie, nisi datus fuerit purgationi locus.

(6) Erit deinde studium adhibendum disciplinae stabilien-
dae. Alioqui mox collabatur quidquid in praesens instauratum fuerit. Etsi autem plura optemus, quia tamen hoc tempore obtineri posse nulla spes est, quae imprimis necessaria sunt constitui cupimus.

(7) Primum est ut urbs in certas parochias distribuatur. Quoniam enim, praeterquam quod populosa³ est, collecta est ex varia diversarum gentium⁴ multitudo, valde confusa semper

¹ What shut out holy-days other than Sunday, with the Genevan Reformers, was their rigid Scripturalism—'Six days shalt thou labour.'

² This was quite the view of Bern; cf. its edict in Herminjard, iv, No. 698, n. 18, or Ruchat, iv. 459.

³ About 13,000.

⁴ Cf. *Ann. Hist. Rev.* viii. 239, n. 2.

erit eius administratio, nisi propius pastorem suum plebs respiciat, et pastor vicissim plebem. Quod fiet instituta ista distinctione.

(8) Deinde ut eo numero ministri assumantur qui tantae provinciae sufficere queant.¹

(9) Ut germanus excommunicationis usus restituatur eo quem praescripsimus modo,² nempe ut a Senatu eligantur ex singulis urbis regionibus probi et cordati viri, quibus in commune nobiscum ea cura incumbat.

(10) Ut in ministrorum vocatione legitimus ordo servetur ne manuum impositio,³ quae penes ministros esse debet, magistratus potentia tollatur e medio. Quod non semel nostri conati sunt.

(11) Quoniam autem duo restant caeremoniarum capita, in quorum altero iam discrimen est, in altero futurum exspectamus, rogandi sunt nobis et obtestandi Bernates ut in iis sese nobis accommodent.

(12) Prius est, ut frequentior Coenae usus⁴ instituatur, si non secundum veteris ecclesiae consuetudinem, at saltem singulis quibusque mensibus semel.

(13) Alterum, ut ad publicas orationes Psalmorum cantio⁵ adhibeatur.

(14) Postremo, quum in lascivis et obscoenis cantilenis ac choracis quae ad illarum numeros semper sunt compositae, nostri Bernatium exemplum praetexant, oratos volumus ut e sua quoque ditione tales spurcitas⁶ eliminent, ne suo exemplo dent nostris occasionem rursus eas expetendi.

No. 296. The letter of Cardinal Sadoletto to Geneva, 18 March 1539.

... Disceptatio est utrum vestrae saluti magis expediat, gratiusque Deo vos facturos existimetis, si ea credideritis eritis-

¹ Since 1536 but three or four.

² See in the memorandum of 13 Jan. 1537, *supra*, No. 284.

³ It was required in *Inst.* IV. iii. 16, but ignored in the *Ordonnances* (*infra*, No. 302) and in the *Confessio Scoticana*, § 18 (Niemeyer, 350; and *infra*, No. 349).

⁴ It was administered four times a year at Geneva, by decree of 16 Jan. 1537 (cf. *supra*, No. 285), and three times a year at Bern (Ruchat, iv. 524); but in the canton of Basel, weekly in Basel, monthly in the villages (Herminjard, iv, No. 708, n. 15).

⁵ Cf. the memorandum of 13 Jan. 1537, *supra*, No. 284; an order for psalmody was given in Bern, 21 June 1538.

⁶ Forbidden, 24 Dec. 1536 (*supra*, No. 280), and again 16 June and 5 July 1538 (Herminjard, iv, No. 708, n. 17).

que secuti quae Ecclesia Catholica cunctum per orbem terrarum annos iam mille et quingentos amplius, aut (si claram certamque rerum gestarum memoriam et notitiam quaerimus) annos iam amplius mille et trecentos, magno consensu comprobat : an haec quae vafri homines atque, ut sibi ipsi videntur, acuti, adversus tot saeculorum usum et contra perpetuam Ecclesiae auctoritatem, his annis quinque et viginti innovaverunt : qui certe ipsi Catholica non sunt Ecclesia. Est enim Catholica Ecclesia, ut breviter definiamus, quae in omni anteacto et hodierno tempore, omni in regione terrarum, in Christo una et consentiens, uno Christi Spiritu ubique et semper directa est, in qua nullum potest dissidium exsistere : omnis enim ea inter se connexa et conspirans est. Quod si quid accidat dissensionis et dissidii, magnum quidem corpus Ecclesiae permanet, fit autem apostema quo corrupta aliqua caro, ab animante corpus cunctum Spiritu divulsa secernitur, nec de substantia ulterius corporis ecclesiastici est. Non ego hic deveniam ad singulas rerum disputationes . . . de eucharistia . . . de confessione ad sacerdotem peccatorum . . . de precibus, aut sanctorum pro nobis apud Deum, aut nostris pro mortuis . . . Sed ut relinquam controversias . . . excutiamus id quod prius est propositum, ut videatur et quaeratur quid nobis magis conducatur . . . sentirene cum universa Ecclesia eiusque decretis et legibus .et sacramentis cum fide obtemperare, an assentiri hominibus dissidia et res novas quaerentibus?¹ . . .

No. 297. Calvin's reply to Sadoletto, 1 Sept. 1539.

. . . Ego autem, Sadolete, ex his quos tam hostiliter inaccessis ac laceras, unum me esse profiteor. Tametsi enim constituta iam religione ac correcta ecclesiae forma illuc vocatus fui : quia tamen quae a Farello ac Vireto gesta erant, non modo suffragio meo comprobavi sed etiam, quantum in me fuit, conservare studui ac confirmare, separatam ab illis causam habere nequeo. Quodsi tamen privatim abs te laesus essem, facile profecto id condonarem tuae doctrinae ac litterarum honori. Sed quum ministerium meum, quod Dei vocatione fundatum ac sancitum fuisse non dubito, per latus meum sauciari videam, perfidia erit, non patientia, si taceam hic atque dissimulem. Doctoris primum, deinde pastoris munere in ecclesia illa functus sum.

¹ He then proceeds to depict a Catholic and a Heretic giving an account of his faith at the Last Day. Calvin takes up the picture in the next extract, giving the defence first of a minister then of a layman.

Quod eam provinciam suscepi, legitime fuisse* vocationis iure meo contendo. . . .

[*The minister's defence.*] Duobus maximis criminibus reum me fecerunt, haereseos et schismatis.

Atqui haeresis illis fuit quod receptis inter eos dogmatibus ausus sum reclamare. Quid vero fecissem? Audiebam ex ore tuo non aliam esse veritatis lucem ad animas nostras in viam vitae dirigendas quam quae a Verbo tuo accenderetur. Audiebam esse vanitatem, quicquid de tua maiestate, de cultu numinis tui, de religionis tuae mysteriis concipiunt a se ipsis humanae mentes. Audiebam sacrilegum esse temeritatem, si natae in hominum cerebris doctrinae pro Verbo tuo ecclesiae ingerantur. Quum autem oculos ad homines converterem, illic omnia longe diversa apparebant. Qui fidei antistites habebantur, Verbum tuum neque intelligebant neque magnopere curabant. Peregrinis tantum dogmatibus circumagebant miseram plebem, ac nescio quibus ineptiis deludebant. In plebe ipsa summa Verbi tui veneratio erat veluti rem inaccessam procul revereri, interim ab omni eius inquisitione abstinere. Haec tum supina pastorum socordia, tum populi stupiditas fecerat, ut omnia perniciosis erroribus, mendaciis, superstitionibus referta essent. . . . Perinde enim ac si minime ad iustitiam Lege tua instituti forent, multas sibi fabricati erant inutiles nugas, quibus favorem sibi tuum conciliarent: in quibus ita sibi blandiebantur, ut prae illis paene contemnerent quam in Lege tua commendasti verae iustitiae regulam: adeo humana decreta, occupato semel regno, tuis ipsius praeceptis, si non fidem, at certe auctoritatem derogaverant. Haec, Domine, . . . ut deprehenderem quam impia noxiaque essent, tu mihi facem Verbo tuo praetulisti. . . . In ratione vero doctrinae reddenda, vides quid conscientia mea ferat: non fuisse scilicet mihi propositum, extra eos evagari fines quos videbam servis tuis omnibus esse constitutos. . . .

Quod autem mihi de discessione ab Ecclesia obiicere soliti sunt, neque in eo male mihi conscius sum: nisi forte pro desertore habendus est qui ubi milites fusos ac palatos videt procul ordines reliquisse, signo ducis sublato, eos in stationes suas revocat. . . . Ego semper et verbis et factis testatus sum, quanto unitatis studio tenerer. Verum illa mihi erat ecclesiae unitas, quae abs te inciperet ac in te desineret. . . . Me, si pacem habere vellem cum iis qui se iactabant Ecclesiae praesules et fidei columnas, eam redimere oportebat Veritatis tuae abnegatione. . . . Neque vero dissidere me ab Ecclesia tua

putabam, quia mihi cum primoribus illis bellum erat. . . . Non ideo habentur pro schismaticis prophetae tui quod dum collapsam religionem instaurare volunt, illis summa vi pugnantibus non cesserint. Manebant ergo in vera ecclesiae unitate quum a sceleratis sacerdotibus diris omnibus devoverentur. . . . Eorum ergo exemplis confirmatus sic constitui ut nihil me illae de ecclesia desertione obnunciationes minaeve territarent. . . . Scis Domine, . . . ut nihil quaesierim quam Verbo tuo controversias omnes dirimi, quo coniunctis animis utraque pars ad stabilendum regnum tuum conspiraret.

[*The layman's defence.*] Ego, Domine, ut a puero fueram educatus, Christianam semper fidem professus sum. . . . Rudimenta autem quibus fueram initiatus, eiusmodi erant ut nec me ad legitimum Numinis tui cultum satis instituerent: neque mihi ad certam spem salutis viam expedirent: nec me bene ad officia formarent Christianae vitae. . . . Credebam ut fueram edoctus, Filii tui morte me redemptum esse ab obligatione aeternae mortis. . . . Nec dissimulabant . . . communem oportere omnibus esse salutis portum tuam misericordiam: sed enim eius obtinendae hanc demonstrabant rationem, si pro offensis tibi satisfaceret. Tum satisfactio nobis iniungebatur. . . . His omnibus quum utcumque perfunctus essem, tametsi non nihil interquiescebam, procul tamen adhuc aberam a certa conscientiae tranquillitate. . . . Quia tamen nihil melius offerebatur, iter quod exorsus sum prosequabar: quum interim excitata est longe diversa doctrinae forma, non quae a Christiana professione nos abduceret, sed quae illam ad suum fontem reduceret, et velut a faecibus repurgatam suae puritati restitueret. . . . Una praesertim res animum ab illis meum avertebat, Ecclesiae reverentia. Verum ubi aliquando aures aperui, meque doceri passus sum, supervacuum fuisse timorem illum intellexi ne quid Ecclesiae maiestati decederet. Multum enim interesse admonebant, secessionem quis ab Ecclesia faciat, an vitia corrigere studeat quibus Ecclesia ipsa contaminata est. . . . Et nunc, Domine, quid aliud misero mihi superest quam ut deprecationem tibi pro defensione offeram, ne horrendam illam a Verbo tuo defectionem ad calculum revoces, a qua me semel mirifica tua benignitate vindicasti? . . .

No. 298. The Councils beg Calvin to return to Geneva, 22 Oct. 1540.

Monsieur nostre bon frère et singulier amy, très affectueusement à vous nous recommandons !—Pource que [nous] sumes

entièrement informés que vostre desyr n'est aultre synon à l'acroyssment et avancement de la gloire et honneur de Dieu et de sa sainte Parolle,—de la part de nostre Petit, Grand et Général Conseyl, lesqueulx de cecy fère nous hont grandement admonestés¹, vous pryons très asseres vous volloyer transporter par devers nous et en vostre prestine place [place] et ministère retourner. Et espérons en l'ayde de Dieu que ce seraz un grand bien et fruyct à l'augmentation de la sainte Évangile. Voyeant que nostre peuple grandement vous desire. Et ferons avecque vous de sorte que aurés occasion vous contenter.

No. 299. The pastors of Zürich urge him to return, 4 April 1541.

Quam vero inhonestum sit Domino reluctari, quantoque cum periculo coniunctum, historia et exemplum Ionae satis indicat. Iam ut Argentorati haereas, non sunt tam graves causae, quum te abeunte ecclesia Argentinensis nihil iacturae faciat, quae tot tantosque viros doctos et praestantes habeat ut vix alia: ecclesia vero Gebennensis praeter unum Viretum² habeat neminem: cuius humeris totum onus idque gravissimum incumbit, quod tantisper sustinet donec ad oves suas revocetur, ut interim taceam quanto cum periculo ecclesiae Lausanensi desit suus pastor. . . .

. . . Porro de utilitate non est quod multa dicamus. Eruis oves plurimas e luporum faucibus, coronam immarcessibilem tibi apud Deum contextis. Nosti Gebennam in confiniis esse Galliae, Italiae, Germaniae, ut magna spes sit isthinc Evangelium latius in conterminas urbes disseminandi, et pomeria regni Christi ampliandi. Nosti Apostolum sibi delegisse metropoles in quibus praedicarit verbum Evangelii, ex quibus facile in alias urbes finitimas dimanaret. Quantum vero regno Christi ex hac urbe adicere queas ipse melius nosti, non praedicando solum, sed et scribendo. Hacc sunt, mi Calvine, quae nos movent ut te rogemus, obsecremus, obtestemur ne vocationem hanc, quam a Domino esse non dubitamus, reiicias, sed incunctanter et absque mora sequaris. . . .

¹ By resolutions of 19-21 Oct., *q. v.* in Herminjard, iv, No. 900, n. 1.

² Viret, at the request of the Genevese (*ibid.* vi, No. 931), was sent by Bern to Geneva in January 1541 (*ibid.* vii, No. 937), and returned to Lausanne, 10 July 1542 (*ibid.* viii, No. 1136).

No. 300. Calvin returns to Geneva, 13 Sept. 1541.

Reg. du Conseil.—M^e Jehan Calvin, ministre évangélique. Lequelt est arryvé d'Estrabourg et az delivrez des lectres du dit Estrabourg et de leurs prédicans, aussy de Basle, lesquelles hont esté lisues. Enapres az tout aut long fayct ses excuses de la longue demorance qu'il az faycte. Et estre fayct cela az pryer mectre ordre sus l'église et que icelluy fusse par escript redigye. Et que l'on élize gens du conseil pour havoyer conférence avecque eulx lesqueulx feront laz relation en conseil. Et quant az luy il sed offert d'estre tousjour serviteur de Genève.

Et pour aultant que les Sgrs d'Estrabourg entende que le dit Calvin retourne vers eulx : Resoluz de le prier que entièrement il doybje demore icy, et de cella leur fere responce. Aussy resoluz que l'on envoie querre sa femme et son menage.

Quant aux ordonnances sus l'église et consistoyre az esté resoluz que l'on doybje suyvre après icelles fere. Et hont esté esliuez pour havoyer conférence avecque les dits prédicans assavoyer les Srs. Claude Pertemps, Amyez Perrin, Claude Roset, Johan Lambert,¹ et du Grand Conseil M. le lieutenant Goulaz et Porralis. Et d'empuys az esté advisé que aut lieu de M. le lieutenant soyt mys le S^r Johan Balard.

XVII

THE ECCLESIASTICAL STATE IN GENEVA, 1541-2

Master of the situation for the moment, on 16 Sept. 1541 [No. 301] Calvin wrote that he had made his own terms (Herminjard, vii, No. 1039). They issued in [No. 302] a new ecclesiastical constitution for Geneva. But the committee accorded him, 13 Sept. [*supra*, No. 300], was ordered, 16 Sept., to report to the three Councils; and, though 'within twenty days we had prepared a formula' (Herm. vii, No. 1090), it was modified first, 29 Sept., by the Little Council and again, 9 Nov., by the Two Hundred, and that with a refusal to let the ministers see the modifications, before it was approved, 20 Nov., by the Assembly (*ibid.* No. 1069, n. 9: *Opera*, xxi. [= C. R. xlix.] 283-7) and published ultimately with the title *Les Ordonnances ecclésiastiques de l'Eglise de Genève*.²

¹ These four from the Little Council; Ami Porral and Jean Balard from the Two Hundred. All save Balard were 'Guillermins'; for Balard see *supra*, No. 282.

² Distinguish (a) *Projet d'Ordonnances Ecclésiastiques* of Sept.-Oct. 1541 (*Opera*, x a [= C. R. xxxviii.] 15 sqq.), printed below in the text; (b) the *Ordonnances* as officially accepted, 20 Nov. 1541, indicated in the notes; and (c) *Les Ordonnances ecclésiastiques de l'Eglise de Genève*, 1561 (*ibid.* 91 sqq.).

Received with acclamations, 24 Nov., elsewhere (Herminjard, vii, No. 1069), the new order was further advanced, 1542, by [No. 303] a popular tract on the Eucharist, entitled *Petit traité de la S. Cène* (*Opera*, v. [= C. R. xxxiii.] 458 sq.); by [No. 304] a second Catechism, known as *Le Catechisme de l'Eglise de Genève* (*Opera*, vi. [= C. R. xxxiv.] 1 sqq.), and, in the Latin of 1545, as the *Catechismus Genevensis* (*ibid.*, and Niemeyer, *Coll. Conf. Eccl. Ref.* 123 sqq.); and by [No. 305] a Liturgy based (cf. *Opera*, x. [= C. R. xxxviii.] 213) on one of Calvin's own (*Opera*, vi. [= C. R. xxxiv.] 174 sq. nn.) adapted from the form in use, 1537-9, at Strassburg, as that again from a revised translation by Diebold Schwarz, 1524, of the Roman Mass (cf. W. Walker, *Calvin*, 222), and entitled *La forme des prières ecclésiastiques* (*Opera*, vi. [= C. R. xxxiv.] 161 sqq.; cf. Niemeyer, *op. cit.* 170 sqq., and Daniel, *Codex Liturgicus*, iii. 51 sqq.). Ordinances, Catechism, and Liturgy powerfully influenced all, save Lutheran, protestantism everywhere. In Jan. 1542 [No. 306] Calvin reviewed his labours (Herminjard, vii, No. 1090) in a letter to a friend. He had laid down the lines of a Puritan State in Geneva (cf. H. D. Foster, 'Calvin's programme for a Puritan State in Geneva,' in *The Harvard Theological Review*, vol. i, No. 4, Oct. 1908).

No. 301. Calvin's terms, 13 Sept. 1541.

From a letter to Farel of 16 Sept.—Quod bene vertat Deus, hic retentus sum, ut volebas. Superest ut Viretum quoque mecum retineam, quem a me avelli nullo modo patiar. Tuae quoque omniumque fratrum partes me hic adiuvere, nisi vultis me frustra excruciarī, ac sine commodō esse miserrimum. Ubi operam meam Senatui detuli, exposui non posse consistere ecclesiam, nisi certum regimen constitueretur, quale ex Verbo Dei nobis praescriptum est, et in veteri Ecclesia fuit observatum. Capita deinde quaedam attigi, unde intelligerent quid vellem. Sed quia tota res explicari non poterat, petii ut nobis darentur qui nobiscum conferrent: sex nobis dati sunt. Conscribentur de tota ecclesiae politia articuli, quos deinde Senatui exhibebimus. Collegae tres¹ se nobis duobus consentire prae se ferunt: aliquid saltem obtinebitur. . . .

No. 302. The new ecclesiastical constitution in Geneva, 1541-2.

(a) 16 Sept. 1541.—Suivant la résolution du Grand et du Petit Conseil, ordonné que les sieurs prédicans avec les six

¹ Jacques Bernard, Henri de la Mare, and Aymé Champereau. Calvin afterwards found them 'minime nobis commodos' (Herminjard, vii, No. 1090 (Jan. 1542)).

députés doivent suivre aux ordonnances sur l'ordre de l'église avec son mode de vivre, lequel, avant toutes choses, sera visité par le Petit Conseil, les Deux-Cents et le Conseil Général, afin de savoir comment chacun se devra conduire selon Dieu et la justice.

(b) 29 Sept. 1541.—On a suivi à lire quelques articles des ordonnances sur le régime de l'église, dont quelques-uns ont été acceptés, les autres regettés. Toutefois a été ajouté qu'il seroit bien convenable d'ordonner en faire un mode de vivre sur un chacun.

(c) 9 Nov. 1541.—Sur ce que les prédicans désirent voir les réparations [corrections] sur les ordonnances de l'église, ordonné que à eux n'appartient de les revoir, et que l'affaire soit mise en Deux-Cents aujourd'hui.

En Deux-Cents, lu les ordonnances de l'église. Un Syndic doit assister au Consistoire. Des pierres des baptistaires, qu'il n'en soit point parlé. Le reste bien et soit mis l'intitulation : Par nous, Petit et Grand Conseil.

(d) Dimanche, 20 Nov. 1541.—Les Ordonnances de l'Église ont été passées en Conseil Général sans contradiction.

*Projet d'Ordonnances Ecclésiastiques*¹, Sept.—Oct. 1541. Il y a quatre ordres d'offices, que Nostre Seigneur a institué pour le gouvernement de son Église.

Premièrement les pasteurs, puis les docteurs, après les anciens, quartement les diacres.

Pourtant si nous voulons avoir esglise bien ordonnée et l'entretenir en son entier, il nous fault observer ceste forme de régime.

¹ In the *Registers of the Venerable Company*, the official text of the *Ordonnances* has no title, but this preface :—Au nom de Dieu tout puissant, Nous Sindicques, Petit et Grand Conseil, avec nostre peuple, assemblé au son de trompette et grosse cloche suyvant nos anciennes coustumes, ayant considéré que c'est chose digne de recommandation sur toutes les aultres, que la doctrine du Saint Évangile de N. S. soit bien conservée en sa pureté et l'Église chrestienne deument entretenue, que la jeunesse pour l'advenir soit fidellement instruite, l'hospital ordonné en bon estat pour la sustentation des pauvres, ce qui ne ce [se] peut faire synon qu'il y ait certaine règle et manière de vivre par laquelle chacun estat entende le devoir de son office : A ceste cause il nous a semblé advis bon que le gouvernement spirituel, tel que N. S. Pa demonsté et institué par sa Parole, fust reduict en bonne forme pour avoir lieu et estre observé entre nous. Et ainsi avons ordonné et estably de suyvre et garder en nostre ville et territoire la Police Ecclésiastique qui s'ensuit, comme voyons qu'elle est prise de l'Évangile de Jesu Christ.

[i. Les pasteurs.]

Quant est des pasteurs que l'Escripture nomme aussi aucunes-fois¹ anciens et ministres, leur office est d'annoncer la Parole de Dieu pour endoctriner, admonester, exhorter et reprendre tant en public comme en particulier, administrer les sacramens et faire les corrections fraternelles avec les anciens et comys.

Or affin que rien ne se face confusément en l'Eglise, nul ne se doit ingérer en cest office sans vocation; en laquelle il fault considérer trois choses assavoir [1] l'examen, qui est le principal. Après [2] aussi² il appartient de instituer les ministres. Tiercement [3] quelle cérémonie ou façon de faire il est bon de garder à les introduire en l'office.

[1] L'examen contient deux parties, dont la première [a] est touchant la doctrine, assavoir si celluy qu'on doit ordonner a bonne et sainte³ cognoissance de l'Escripture. Et puy s'il est ydoine et propre pour la communiquer au peuple en édification.⁴

Aussi pour éviter tout danger que celluy qu'on veult retenir⁵ n'ait quelque opinion maulvaise, il sera bon qu'il proteste de recevoir et tenir la doctrine approuée en l'esglise.

Pour cognoistre s'il est propre à enseigner, il faudra procéder par interrogations et par l'ouyr traicter en privé la doctrine du Seigneur.

[b] La seconde partie est de la vie, assavoir s'il est de bonnes meurs et s'est tousjours gouverné sans reproche. La reigle d'y procéder est très bien demonstrée par S. Paul; laquelle il faudra tenir.

[2] S'ensuit a qui il appartient d'instituer les pasteurs. Il sera bon en cest endroit de suyvre l'ordre de l'Esglise ancienne, veu que ce n'est que pratique de ce qui nous est monstre par l'Escripture. C'est que les ministres elisent premièrement celluy qu'on doibvra mettre en l'office.⁶ Après qu'on le présente au Conseil. Et s'il est trouvé digne, que le Conseil le recoive et accepte,⁷ luy donnant tesmonage pour le produire finalement au peuple en la prédication, affin qu'il soit receu par consentement commun⁸ de la compaignye des fidelles.

¹ surveillans, anciens, etc.

² après a qui il appartient.

³ saine.

⁴ + étant premièrement, après l'examen fayct, présenté a la Seigneurie.
⁵ recevoir.

⁶ + l'ayant fayct à scavoir à la Seigneurie.

⁷ + ainsy que l'on verraz estre expedient.

⁸ In 1561 this was defined as a right to enter protest between election and admission to office (*Opera*, x a, 94).

S'il estoit trouvé indigne et démontré tel par probations légitimes, il faudroit lors procéder a nouvelle élection pour en prendre un aultre.

[3] Quant à la manière de l'introduyre, il seroit bon de user de l'imposition des mains, laquelle cérémonie a esté gardée des apostres et puy en l'Eglise ancienne, moyennant que cela se face sans superstition et sans offence. Mais pource qu'il y a eu beaucoup de superstition au temps passé, et qu'il s'en pourroit en suivre du scandalle, on s'en abstient pour l'infirmité du temps¹.

Quant il sera esleu qu'il ait à jurer entre les mains de la Seigneurie, duquel serment il y aura forme escripte, convenable a ce qui est requis en ung ministre.²

Or comme il fault bien examiner les ministres quant on les veult eslire aussi fault il avoir bonne police à les entretenir en leur debvoir.

Premièrement sera expédient que touz les ministres pour conserver pureté et concorde de doctrine entre eulx, conviennent ensemble un jour certain la sepmaine pour avoir conférence des Escriptions et que nul ne s'en exempte s'il n'a excuse légitime.³ Si quelq'un y estoit négligent qu'il en soit admonnesté.

Quant a ceulx qui preschent par les villages dépendans de la Seigneurie, qu'on les exhorte⁴ d'y venir toutes les fois qu'ilz pourront. Au reste s'ilz défailent ung moys entier qu'on tienne cella pour négligence trop grande, si non qu'il y eust maladie ou aultre empeschement légitime.

S'il y sortoit quelque différent de la doctrine, que les ministres en traictent ensemble pour discuter la matière. Après si mestier estoit qu'ilz appellent les anciens⁵ pour ayder à appaiser

¹ The official text substitutes : ' Quant à la manière de l'introduire, pource que les cérémonies du temps passé ont esté tournées en beaulcoup de superstitions, à cause de l'infirmité du temps il suffira qu'il se fasse par un des ministres une déclaration en remonstrance de l'office auquel on l'ordonne, puis qu'on fasse prières et oraisons affin que le Seigneur luy fasse la grace de s'en acquiter.'

² + selon que s'ensuit [the form of oath is given in *Opera*, x a, 31].

³ These weekly exercises came to be known as the *Congrégation* in Geneva. They were held on Fridays in *L'Auditoire* (formerly N. D. la Neuve), which was lent, 14 and 25 Nov. 1555, to the section of English refugees from Frankfurt who followed John Knox, for worship on Mondays, Tuesdays, and Wednesdays, at 9 a.m. (*Opera*, xxi. [= *C. R.* xlix.] 619 sq.). Cf. the *Colloquia* (*supra*, No. 207; and p. 547), and the Puritan Prophesyings in England; for which see Prothero, *Statutes and Documents 1559-1625*, 202-8, 218, 248, and Paget, *Introduction to Hooker, Book V*, 64 sqq., and the *Disciplina Ecclesiae Sacra* of 1588 in App. iii. 247 sq.

⁴ nous ministres de la ville les ayent à exorter.

⁵ + et comys par la Seigneurie.

la contention. Finalement, s'ilz ne pouvoient venir a concorde amiable pour l'obstination de l'une des parties que la cause soit déferée au magistrat pour y mettre ordre.

Pour obvier a tous scandales de vie il sera mestier qu'il y ait forme de correction ¹ a laquelle tous se soubmettent, qui sera aussi le moien que le ministère soit conservé en révérence et que la Parolle de Dieu ne soit par le mauvais bruit des ministres en deshonneur ou mespris. Car comme on corrigera celluy qui l'aura mérité, aussi sera mestier de reprouver les calumnies et faulx rapportz qu'on pourroit faire injustement contre innocens.

Mais premièrement fault noter qu'il y a des crimes qui sont du tout intollérables en un ministre, et y a des vices qu'on peult aultrement supporter moyennant qu'on en face admonitions fraternelles. . . .

Quant est des crimes qu'on ne doibt nullement porter, s'il ² s'en dresse quelque accusation en murmure que l'assemblée des ministres et anciens en enquerrent, affin de y procéder par raison et selon qu'on en trouvera qu'ilz en jugent, et puyz rapportent le jugement au magistrat affin que, si mestier est, le délinquant soit déposé.³

Quant est des vices moindres qu'on doibt corriger par admonition simple, qu'on y procède selon l'ordre de N. S., tellement que le dernier soit venir au jugement ecclésiastique.⁴

Pour maintenir ceste discipline en estat, que de trois mois en trois mois les ministres aient spécialement regard s'il y a rien à redire entre eulx, pour y remédier comme de raison.

Du nombre, lieu et temps des Prédications.

Le dymanche qu'il y ait sermon au pinct du jour à S. Pierre et S. Gervais et à l'heure accoustumée au ditz S. Pierre⁵ et S. Gervais.

¹ + laquelle appartiendra à la Seigneurie.

² *The official text, for the rest of this paragraph, substitutes: —* 'Si ce sont crimes civilz, c'est à dire qu'on doibve punir par les loix, si quelqu'un des ministres y tombe, que la Seigneurie y mette la main et que oultre la peine ordinaire dont elle a custume de chastier les aultres, elle le punisse en le déposant de son office.'

³ *The text of the Register of the Venerable Company adds here: —* 'Quant des aultres crimes dont la première inquisition appartient au Consistoire Ecclésiastique, que les commis ou Anciens avec les Ministres veillent dessus: et si quelqu'un en est convaincu, qu'ils en fassent le raport au conseil avec leur avis et jugement, ainsi que le dernier jugement de la correction soit toujours réservé à la Seigneurie.' *It appears in 1561 (Opera, xb [= C. R. xxxviii.] 97).*

⁴ This article is deleted. It re-appears in 1561 (*ibid.*).

⁵ + a la Magdeleine.

A mydy qu'il y ait cathéchisme, c'est à dire instruction de petiz enfans en toutes les troys esglises, assavoir la Magdelène, S. Pierre et S. Gervais.

A troys heures en S. Pierre et S. Gervais le second sermon.

Pour envoyer les enfans au cathéchisme et pour recevoir les sacremens, que en tant qu'il se pourra faire on observe les limites des paroysses. C'est que S. Gervais contienne ce qu'il avoit du temps passé, la Magdelène pareillement, S. Pierre ce qui appartient anciennement à S. Germain, S^e. Croix, N.-D. la Neufve, S. Legier.

Es jours ouvriers outre les deux prédications qui se font, que troys fois la sepmaine on presche à S. Pierre, assavoir le Lundy, Mardy¹ et Vendredy une² heure devant qu'on commence aux aultres lieux.

Pour soubstenir ces charges et aultres qui sont du ministère il sera besoin d'avoir cinq ministres et troys co-adjuteurs qui seront aussi ministres pour ayder et soubvenir selon que la nécessité le requerra.

[ii] S'ensuyt du second ordre, que nous avons nommé de docteurs.

L'office propre de docteurs est d'enseigner les fidelles en saine doctrine, affin que la pureté de l'Evangile ne soit corumpue ou par ignorance ou par mauvaises opinions. Toutes-fois selon que les choses sont aujourd'hui disposées nous compregnons en ce tiltre les aydes et instructions pour conserver la doctrine de Dieu et faire que l'Eglise ne soit desolée par faulte de pasteurs et ministres, ainsi pour user d'un mot plus intelligible nous appellerons³ l'ordre des escolles.

Le degré plus prochain au ministère et plus conjoint au gouvernement de l'Eglise est la lecture de théologie, dont il sera bon qu'il y en ait au Vieil et Nouveau Testament.

Mais pour ce qu'on ne peult proufiter en telles leçons que premièrement on ne soit instruit aux langues et sciences humaines, et aussi est besoing de susciter de la sémence pour le temps advenir, affin de ne laisser l'Eglise déserte a nous enfans, il faudra dresser collège pour instruyre les enfans, affin de les préparer tant au ministère que gouvernement civil.

¹ Mercredi.

² *From this point the article, as finally adopted, runs:—* 'Et que ces sermons soyent sonnez l'un après l'autre à telle beure qu'ilz puissent estre finitz devant qu'on commence ailleurs. Si ce faict quelque prière extraordinaire pour la nécessité du temps, on gardera l'ordre de dymenche.'

³ L'appellerons.

Pour le premier, fauldra assigner lieu propre tant pour faire leçons que pour tenir enfans et aultres qui voudroient proufyter, avoir homme docte et expert pour disposer tant de la maison comme des lectures, et qui puyse aussi lire, le prendre et soldoyer a ycelle condition qu'il aye soubz sa charge lecteurs tant aux langues comme en dialectique, s'il se peult faire. Item, des bacheliers pour apprendre les petiz enfans et¹ de ce esperons pourvoybre en briefz a l'ayde du Seygneur.

Que touz ceulx qui seront là soient subjectz à la discipline ecclésiastique comme les ministres.

Qu'il n'y ait aultre escolle par la ville pour les petiz enfans, mais que les filles ayent leur escolle à part, comme il a esté faict par cydevant.

Que nul ne soit receu s'il n'est approuvé par les ministres² avec leur tesmonage de peur des inconveniens.

[iii] S'ensuyt le troisieme ordre, qui est des Anciens.³

Leur office est de prendre garde sur la vie d'un chascun, d'admonester amiablement ceulx quilz verront faillir ou⁴ mener vie désordonnée, et là ou il en seroit mestier faire rapport à la Compaignye qui sera deputée pour faire les corrections fraternelles⁵ et les faire avec les aultres.

Comme ceste esglise est disposée, il seroit bon d'en eslire deux du Conseil Estroict, quatre du Conseil des Soixante, et six du Conseil des Deux-cens, gens de bonne vie et honeste, sans reproche et hors de toute suspicion, sur tout craignans Dieu et ayans bonne prudence spirituelle. Et les fauldra tellement eslire qu'il y en ait en chascun quartier de la ville, affin d'avoir l'œil partout.⁶

La manière⁷ de les eslire semble estre bonne tellement que le Conseil Estroict advise de nommer les plus propre qu'on pourra trouver et les plus suffisans, et pour ce faire appeller les

¹ *l'or* 'de ce', etc., *was substituted* 'ce que nous voulons et ordonnons estre faict'.

² + l'ayant premièrement faict seavoir à la Seigneurie et alors derechef qu'il soit présenté au Conseil avec leur tesmoignage, de peur des inconveniens. Toutesfois l'examen debvra estre faict présent deux des seigneurs du Petit Conseil.

³ + que ce dyront estre comys ou deputés par la Seygneurie au Consistoyre.

⁴ et.

⁵ et lors les faire communément avec, etc.

⁶ + ce que voulons estre faict. [N.B.—This disciplinary office was lay, not ministerial; and the process of appointment to it governmental. The populace was not consulted; the ministers consulted only.]

⁷ Pareillement nous avons déterminé que la manière de les eslire soit telle, c'est que, etc.

ministres pour en communiquer avec eulx, puyz qu'ilz présentent ceulx qu'ilz auront advisé au Conseil des Deux-cens, lequel les approuvera. S'il les trouve dignes,¹ qu'ilz fassent serment particulier dont la forme se pourra² facilement dresser. Et au bout de l'an, après avoir esleu le Conseil, qu'ilz se présentent à la Seygneurie, affin qu'ilz³ regardent s'ilz les debveront continuer ou changer. Combien qu'il ne seroit expédient de les changer souvent sans cause, quant ilz se acquiteront de leur devoir fidellement.

[iv] Le quatriesme ordre du gouvernement ecclésiastique, assavoir les Diacres.

Il y en a eu tousjours deux espèces en l'Esglise ancienne, les uns ont esté deputez a recevoir dispenser et conserver les biens des puvres, tant aulmosnes quotidiannes que possessions, rentes et pensions. Les autres pour soigner et penser les malades et administrer la pitance des puvres, laquelle coustume nous tenons encorres de présent. Car nous avons procureurs et hospitalliers.⁴

Que l'élection tant des procureurs que des hospitalliers se face comme des Anciens,⁵ et en les eslisant qu'on suive la reigle que baille S. Paul des Dyacres [1 Tim. iii, Tit. i].

Il sera mestier de veiller diligemment que l'hospital commun soit bien entretenu, et que ce soit tant pour les malades que vieilles gens qui ne peuvent travailler, femmes veufves, enfans orphelins et autres puvres. . . .

Item que la sollicitude des puvres qui sont dispersez par la ville revienne là, selon que les procureurs en ordonneront.

Item que outre l'hospital des passans lequel il est besoing de conserver, qu'il y ait quelque hospitalité à part pour ceulx qu'on verra estre dignes de charité speciale. Et pour ce faire, qu'il y ait une chambre speciale deputée pour recevoir ceulx qui seront adressez des procureurs, et qu'elle soit reservée en cest usage.

Il seroit bon aussi que tant pour les puvres de l'hospital que pour ceulx de la ville qui n'ont pas de quoy s'ayder qu'il y ait un médecin et un chirurgien propre,⁶ qui néantmoins

¹ + après estre approuvez.

² sera dressée comme pour les ministres.

³ qu'on regarde s'ilz debvront estre continuez ou changez.

⁴ Et affin d'éviter confusion, car nous avons procureurs et hospitalliers, que l'un des quatre procureurs du dict hospital soit receveur de tout le bien d'icelluy et qu'il ait gages competans affin de exercer mieulx son office.

⁵ + et comys au Consistoyre.

⁶ + aux gages de la ville.

practiquassent en la ville, mais cependant feussent tenuz d'avoir soing de l'hospital et visiter les aultres poveres.

Quant est de l'hospital pour la peste, qu'il ait tout son cas séparé à part, et principalement s'il advenoit¹ que la ville fust visitée de ceste verge de Dieu.

Au surplus pour empescher la mendicité, laquelle est contraire à bonne police, il seroit bon² et ainsy havons ordonné que il ay l'un de nous officiers à l'issue des Esglises pour oster ceulx de la place qui voudroient belistrer,³ et si c'estoient affronteurs, ou qu'ilz se rebecquassent, les mener à l'ung de Messieurs les Syndicques. Pareillement que au reste du temps les dizeniers y prissent garde que la deffence de ne point mendier feust bien observée.

[v] Des Sacremens. Du Baptisme.

Que le Baptisme ne se face que à l'heure de la prédication, et qu'il soit administré seulement par les ministres ou coadjuteurs, et qu'on enregistre les noms des enfans avec les noms de leurs parens, que s'il se trouvoit quelque bastard, la justice en soit advertie.

Que les pierres ou baptistaire soit auprès de la chaire, affin qu'il y ait meilleure audience à réciter le mystère et l'usage du baptisme.⁴

Qu'on ne reçoive estrangers pource compères que gens fidelles et de nostre communion, veu que les aultres ne sont capables de faire promesse à l'Esglise d'instruyre les enfans comme il appartient.

[vi] De la Cène.

Puys que la Cène a esté instituée de N. S. pour nous estre en usage plus fréquent, et aussi qu'il a ainsi esté observé en l'Esglise ancienne juczques à ce que le dyable a tout renversé, érigeant la Messe au lieu d'icelle, c'est ung deffault qu'on doit corriger, que de la célébrer tant peu souvent.⁵

¹ s'il advient.

² il faudra que la Seigneurie commette quelcuns de ses officiers, et ainsi avons ordonné.

³ qui voudront résister.

⁴ omitted. 'Calvin would have admitted the Bernese custom of the font—a fresh evidence that his opposition in 1538 was not so much to the Bernese ceremonies, as to their imposition by governmental authority—but here "Guillermin" prejudice would have none of it' (W. Walker, *Calvin*, 268).

⁵ + Toutesfoys pour au présentey avons advisé et ordonné que elle soyt administrée quatre foyz l'année, assavoyre à Noel, Pasques, Penthecoste et le premier dynenche de Septembre en aulthone—to take the place of the following paragraph. Cf. the Revision of 1561 (*Opera*, xb [— C. R. xxxviii.], 104).

Parquoy sera bon que tousjours unesfois le moys elle soit administrée en la ville, tellement que tous les troys moys elle revienne en chascune paroysse ; oultre que trois foys l'an on la face partout, assavoir à Pasques, Penthecoste et Noel en telle sort néantmoins que ce moys là elle ne soit repetée en la paroysse laquelle lors seroit en son jour.

Que les ministres distribuent le pain en bon ordre et avec révérence, et que nul aultre ne donne le calyce sinon les comys ou diacres avec les ministres, et pour ceste cause qu'il n'y ait point multitude de vaisseaulx.

Que les tables soient près de la chaire, affin que le mystère¹ se puyse mieulx commodement exposer près des tables.

Qu'elle ne soit célébrée qu'en l'Esglise jucques à meilleure opportunité.

Que le dymanche devant qu'on la célèbre, qu'on en face la dénonciation, affin que nul enfant n'y vienne devant que avoir fait profession de sa foy selon qu'il sera exposé au Cathéchisme, et aussi qu'on exhorte tous estrangers et nouveaulx venuz de se venir premier représenter à l'Esglise, affin d'estre instruitz s'ilz en avoient mestier, et ainsi que nul n'en approche à sa condamnation.

[vii] Du Mariage.

Que, après la dénonce des bans acoustumée, on face les espousailles quant les parties le requerront, tant le dymanche que les jours ouvriers, moyennant que se soit au commencement du presche ; seulement il sera bon que le jour qu'on aura célébré la Cène, on s'en abstienne pour l'honneur du Sacrement.

Il sera bon d'introduyre les chantz ecclésiastiques pour mieulx inciter le peuple à prier et louer Dieu.

Pour le commencement on apprendra les petiz enfans, puy^s avec le temps toute l'Esglise pourra suyvre.

Touchant les différences en causes matrimoniales, pour ce que ce n'est pas matière spirituelle mais meslée avec la politique, nous² remettons cela à Messieurs, les pryans néantmoins de vouloir, sans plus delayer, dresser ung Consistoire pour en juger, auquel, si bon leur semble, ilz pourront conjoindre quelques ungs des ministres comme conseillers : surtout qu'il

¹ *Sic.* Probably Ministre.

² cela demeurera à la Seigneurie. Ce néantmoins avons advisé de laisser au Consistoire la charge d'ouyr les parties, affin d'en rapporter leur advis au Conseil, pour assoir jugement bonnes ordonnances soient dressées, lesquelles on suyve doresnavant.

leur plaise deputer gens pour faire ordonnances lesquelles on suyve doresnavant.

[viii] De la Sepulture.

Qu'on ensepevelisse honestement les mortz au lieu ordonné. De la suyte et compaignye, nous la laissons à la discrétion d'un chascun.

Il sera bon¹ que les porteurs ayent serment à nous² d'empescher toutes superstitions contraires à la parole de Dieu, de n'en point porter à heure indeue, et faire rapport si quelqu'un estoit mort subitement, affin d'obvier à touz inconveniens qui en pourroient advenir.

Item après leur mort de ne les porter plustost de douze heures et non plus tard que vingt et quatre.

[ix] De la visitation des malades.

Pour ce que plusieurs sont négligens de se consoler en Dieu par sa parole quant ilz se trouvent en nécessité de maladie, et ainsi plusieurs meurent sans quelque admonition ou doctrine, laquelle est à l'homme plus salutaire lors que jamais : il sera bon³ que Messeigneurs ordonnent et facent publier que nul ne demoure troys jours entiers gisant au lict, qu'il ne le face savoir au ministre, et que chascun advise d'appeller les ministres quant il les voudront avoir à heure opportune : affin de ne les distraire de leur office auquel ilz servent en commun à l'Eglise,⁴ et surtout qu'il soit fait commandement que les parens, amys et gardes n'attendent pas que l'homme doibve rendre l'esperit, en laquelle extrémité les consolations ne servent de guères à la plus part.

[x] De la visitation des prisonniers.

Il sera bon que Messeigneurs ordonnent⁵ certain jour la sepmaine auquel soit faite quelque collation aux prissonnyers, pour les admonester et exhorter : si bon leur semble,⁶ deputer quelqu'un de leur compaignie,⁷ affin qu'il ne si commette nulle fraude : et s'ilz en ont⁸ quelqu'un en seps, lequel l'on ne vueille pas tirer hors, quant bon leur⁹ semblera, pourront donner entrée à quelque ministre pour le consoler en présence comment

¹ Nous avons oultre plus advisé et ordonné. ² à la Seigneurie.

³ Pour ceste cause avons advisé et ordonné que nul, etc.

⁴ + et pour oster toutes excuses avons resolu que cela soit.

⁵ En oultre avons ordonné.

⁶ Et qu'il y ait deux des Seigneurs du Conseil deputez pour y assister affin qu'il ne se commette, etc.

⁷ Nous semble, nostre Conseyl.

⁸ Et s'il y en avoit quelqu'un aux seps.

⁹ Quand bon semblera au Conseil il pourroit.

dessus. Car quant on attend qu'on les doibve mener à la mort, ils sont souvent préoccuppez si fort d'horreur, qu'ilz ne peuvent rien recevoir ne entendre. Et le jour de ce fère az esté deputé le samvedy après disné.

[xi] L'ordre qu'on debvera tenir envers les petis enfans.

Que touz citoyens et habitans ayent à mener ou envoyer leurs enfans le dymanche à mydy au cathéchisme dont il a esté parlé.

Qu'il y ait ung certain formulaire composé sur lequel on les instruyse, et que avec la doctrine qu'on leur donnera qu'on les intéroge de ce qui aura esté dict, pour veoir s'ilz l'auront bien entendu et retenu.

Quant ung enfant sera suffisamment instruit pour se passer du cathéchisme, qu'il récite solennellement la somme de ce qui y sera contenu : et ainsi qu'il face comme une profession de sa chrestienté en présence de l'Esglise.

Devant que avoir faict cela, que nul enfant ne soit admis à recevoir la Cène, et qu'on advertisse les parens de ne les amener devant le temps. Car c'est chose fort périlleuse tant pour les enfans que pour les pères, de les ingerer sans bonne et suffisante instruction, pour laquelle cognoystre il est besoing de user de cest ordre.

Affin qu'il n'y ayt faulte, qu'il soit ordonné que les enfans qui vont à l'escole s'assemblent là devant les douze heures et que les maistres les mènent par bon ordre en chascune paroyse.

Les aultres, que leurs pères les envoient on facent conduyre. Et affin qu'il y ait moins de confusion, qu'on observe autant que faire se pourra la distinction des paroysses en cest endroit, comme il a esté dict cy dessus des sacremens.

Que ceux qui contreviendront soient appelez devant la Compaignye des Anciens,¹ et s'ilz ne veuillent obtempérer à bon conseil qu'on en face le rapport à Messieurs.²

Pour adviser lesquelz feront leur devoir ou non, que les Anciens³ ayant l'œil dessus pour s'en donner garde.

[xii] De l'ordre qu'on doibt tenir envers les grans, pour observer bonne police en l'Esglise.

Que les Anciens⁴ dont il a esté parlé s'assemblent une fois la sepmaine avec les Ministres, assavoir le Jeudy matin pour veoir s'il n'y a nul désordre en l'Esglise et traicter ensemble des remèdes quant il en sera besoing.

¹ ou commis et s'ilz ne vouloient.

² qu'il en soit fait le rapport à la Seigneurie.

³ que les commis susdictz.

⁴ que les commis susdictz.

Pour ce qu'ilz n'auront nulle auctorité ne jurisdiction pour contraindre, qu'il plaise à Messieurs¹ leur donner ung de leurs officiers,² pour appeller ceulx ausquelz ilz voudront faire quelque admonition.

Si quelq'un par mespris refuse de comparoistre, leur office sera en advertir Messieurs,³ affin de y donner remède.

[xiii] S'ensuivent les personnes que les Anciens⁴ doivent admonester et comme on doibvera procéder.

S'il y a quelq'un qui dogmatise contre la doctrine receue, qu'il soit appelé pour conférer avec luy. S'il se renge, qu'on le renvoye sans scandale ne diffame. S'il est opiniasté, qu'on l'admoneste par quelquesfois, jusques à ce qu'on verra qu'il sera mestier de plus grande sévérité : et lors, qu'on luy interdise la communion de la Cène et qu'on le dénonce au Magistrat.

Si quelq'un est negligent de convenir à l'Eglise, tellement qu'on apperçoive ung mespris notable de la communion des fideles, ou si quelq'un se monstre estre contempteur de l'ordre ecclesiastique, qu'on l'admoneste, et s'il se rend obéissant, qu'on le renvoye amiablement. S'il persevere de mal en pis, après l'avoir troyz fois admonesté, qu'on le sépare de l'Eglise et qu'on le dénonce.⁵

Quant est de la vie d'un chascun, pour corriger les faultes qui y seront, il faudra procéder selon l'ordre que N. S. commande.

C'est que des vices secretz, qu'on les repregne secrètement, et que nul n'ameine son prochain devant l'Eglise pour l'accuser de quelque faulte laquelle ne sera point notoire ne scandaleuse, sinon après l'avoir trouvé rebelle.

Au reste, que ceulx qui se seront mocquez des admonitions particulieres de leur prochain soient admonestez derechef par l'Eglise, et s'ilz ne vouloient nullement venir à raison, ne recognoistre leur faulte quant ilz en seront convaincus qu'on leur dénonce qu'ilz ayent⁶ a s'abstenir de la Cène jusques à ce qu'ilz reviennent en⁷ meilleure disposition.

Quant est des vices notoires et publiques que l'Eglise ne peult pas dissimuler, si ce sont faultes qui méritent seulement l'admonition, l'office des Anciens⁸ sera appeller ceulx qui en seront entachez, leur faire remonstrances amiables affin qu'ilz

¹ nous avons advisé de.

² noz officiers.—One of the Syndics presided over the Consistory. In 1547 Calvin presided thrice. He may have been tacitly regarded as vice-president. But ordinarily the president was a Syndic (cf. *Opera*, xxi. [= C. R. xlix.] 396).

³ le Conseil.

⁴ ou comys.

⁵ + à la Seigneurie.

⁶ qu'ilz en aient.

⁷ à meilleure.

⁸ des Anciens commis.

ayent à s'en corriger, si on y voit âmendement ne les plus molester. S'ilz perseverent à mal faire, qu'on les admoneste derechef. Et si à la longue on ne proufytoit rien, leur dénoncer comme à contempteurs de Dieu, qu'ilz ayent à s'abstenir de la Cène, jusques à ce qu'on voye en eulx changement de vie.

Quant est des crimes qui ne méritent pas seulement remonstration de paroles mais correction avec chastiment, si quelq'un y est tombé, selon l'exigence du cas il luy faudra dénoncer qu'il s'abstienne quelque temps de la Cène pour se humilier devant Dieu et mieulx recognoistre sa faulte.

Si quelq'un par contumace ou rebellion se volloit ingerer contre la deffence, l'office du Ministre sera de le renvoyer, veu qu'il ne luy est licité de le recevoir à la Communion.

Et néantmoins que tout cela soit tellement modéré, qu'il n'y ait nulle rigueur dont personne soit grève, et mesmes que les corrections ne soient sinon médecines, pour reduyre les pécheurs à N. S.¹

Que ceste police soit non seulement pour la ville, mais aussi pour les villages dépendens de la Seigneurie.

(e) *From a letter of Chr. Fabri to Farel*, 24 Nov. 1541.—Genevae felicitur succedunt omnia, et iam publico edicto,² singulis diebus Iovis, omnes concioni interesse iubentur, etiam famuli et famulae, qui eo die ab opere quotidiano cessare iubentur, donec solutus sit coetus et sacris interfuerint. Disciplinae aliquam esse praxim³ audio, et formulae⁴ partem obtinuisse fratres. Praelectionum⁵ ac colloquiorum⁶ fructum vel in circumvicinis

¹ † Item nous avons ordonné que lesdictz ministres n'ayent à ce attribuy nulle juridiction, mes seulement doybjent aoyr les parties et fère les remonstrances susdictes. Et sus leur relation pourrons adviser et fère le jugement selon l'exigence du cas.

This addition of the committee became in the official text, as finally adopted:—Et que tout cela se face en telle sorte que les Ministres n'aient nulle juridiction civile et ne usent sinon du glaive spirituel de la parole de Dieu comme S. Paul leur ordonne, et que par ce Consistoire ne soit en rien dérogué à l'auctorité de la Seigneurie ne à la justice ordinaire. Mais que la puissance civile demeure en son entier. Et mesmes ou il sera besoing de faire quelque punition ou contraindre les parties, que les Ministres avec le Consistoire aiant ouy les parties et faict les remonstrances et admonitions telles que bon sera, ayent à rapporter au Conseil le tout, lequel sur leur relation advisera d'en ordonner et faire jugement selon l'exigence du cas.

² Cf. *Reg. du Conseil*, 7 Nov.—Ordonné que tous dizeniens doibjent advertir cieulx de leur dizenne de venir tous les Jeudis, dès icy en là, à la predication publique, et, estant parachevé icelle, ung chascun doihje aller travailler.

³ The Consistory.

⁴ The *Ordonnances*.

⁵ The expositions of Scripture provided for in 1538.

⁶ The 'Congregation', on Friday, for 'prophesyings'.

uberrimum derivare videmus ac sentimus. Dominus opus suum ubique perficiat regnumque suum in dies augustiorem (*sic*) reddat! . . .

No. 303. La petite traicté de la Cène, 1542.

. . . Quand Luther commença à enseigner, il traictoit en telle sorte la matière de la Cène, que touchant la présence corporelle de Christ, il sembloit advis qu'il la laissast telle que le monde la concevoit pour lors. Car en condamnant la transsubstantiation, il disoit le pain estre le corps de Christ, d'autant qu'il estoit uny avec. Oultre plus, il adjoustoit des similitudes, lesquelles estoient un peu dures et rudes. Mais il le faisoit comme par contrainte, pour ce qu'il ne pouoit autrement expliquer son intention. Car il est difficile de donner à entendre une chose si haulte, sinon en usant de quelque impropiété.

D'autrepart, se levèrent Zuingle et Oecolampade, lesquelz, considérans l'abuz et tromperie que le Diable avoit mis sus, en establisant une telle présence charnelle de Christ, qu'on avoit enseignée et tenue plus de six centz ans, penserent qu'il n'estoit pas licite de dissimuler. Mesmes puis que cela emportoit une ydolatrie exécration, en ce que Jésus Christ y estoit adoré comme enclos soubz le pain. Or pour ce qu'il estoit fort difficile d'oster ceste opinion enracinée si longtemps aux cueurs des hommes, ilz appliquèrent tout leur entendement à crier à l'encontre, remonstrans combien c'estoit une lourde faulte de ne reconnoistre point ce qui est tant testifié en l'Escripture, touchant l'Ascension de Jésus Christ, et qu'il a esté receu en son humanité au ciel, là où il demourera jusques à ce qu'il descende pour juger le monde. Cependant qu'ilz s'amusoient à ce poinct, ilz oublièrent de monstrer quelle présence de Jésus Christ on doit croire en la Cène, et quelle communication de son corps et de son sang on y reçoit. Tellement que Luther pensoit qu'ilz ne voulussent laisser autre chose que les signes nudz, sans leur substance spirituelle. Ainsi il commença à leur resister en barbe, jusque à les dénoncer pour hérétiques. Depuis que la contention feust une fois commencée, elle s'enflamba tousjours avec le temps, et ainsi a esté demenée trop amèrement par l'espace de quinze ans ou environ, sans que jamais les uns ayent voulu escouter les autres d'un cuer paisible. Car combien qu'ilz ayent une fois conféré ensemblé, néantmoins, il y avoit telle alénation, qu'ilz s'en retournèrent sans aucun accord. . . .

Nous confessons doncq tous d'une bouche, que en recevant en foy le Sacrement selon l'ordonnance du Seigneur, nous sommes

vrayment faictz participans de la propre substance du corps et du sang de Jésus Christ. Comment cela se faict, les uns le peuvent mieux desduire et plus clairement exposer que les autres. Tant y a que d'une part il nous fault, pour exclurre toutes phantasies charnelles, eslever les cueurs en hault au ciel, ne pensant pas que le Seigneur Jésus soit abaissé jusque là, de estre enclos soubz quelques élémens corruptibles. D'autre part pour ne point amoindrir l'efficace de ce saint mystère, il nous fault penser que cela se faict par la vertu secrète et miraculeuse de Dieu, et que l'Esprit de Dieu est le lien de ceste participation, pour laquelle cause elle est appelée Spirituelle.

No. 304. From the Catechismus Genevensis, 1545.

Lectori S.

Observatum semper fuit in Ecclesia et diligenter etiam procuratum ut pueri in doctrina Christiana rite instituerentur. Quod ut fieret commodius, non modo apertae fuerunt olim Scholae, ac singulis praecipiebatur ut familiam suam probe docerent, sed etiam publico more et instituto receptum erat ut in templis rogarentur pueri de singulis capitibus, quae communia Christianis omnibus et nota esse debent. Ut autem id ordine fieret, describebatur formula quae vocabatur Catechismus sive Institutio. Ab eo tempore diabolus Ecclesiam Dei misere lacerans et horrendum eius exitum invehens (cuius notae in maiori parte mundi nimium adhuc exstant) sanctam hanc politiam evertit: neque aliud quicquam reliquum fecit praeter quasdam nugas, quae superstitiones tantum pariant absque ullo aedificationis fructu: cuiusmodi est Confirmatio illa, quam vocant, referta quidem gesticulationibus plusquam ridiculis, et quae prorsus similiis convenient, nec ullo fundamento nitantur. Quod ergo nunc in medium proferimus, nihil aliud est quam usus eorum quae iam olim a Christianis et veris Dei cultoribus observata sunt, neque unquam omissa, nisi dum Ecclesia omnino corrupta fuit.

§ 1. De Fide. § 2. De Lege. § 3. De Oratione.¹

§ 4. De Verbo Dei.

Magister. Iam instituta a nobis ordinis ratio postulat ut de quarta cultus Dei parte agamus.

Puer. Hanc in eo sitam esse diximus, ut Deum agnoscamus bonorum omnium auctorem, eiusque bonitatem, iustitiam, sa-

¹ For these three sections see Niemeyer, *Collectio Confessionum*, 126-58.

pientiam, potentiam, laude et gratiarum actione prosequamur : quod in solidum bonorum omnium gloria penes ipsum resideat.

M. Nullamne huius partis regulam praescripsit ?

P. Quicquid laudum eius exstat in Scripturis pro regula nobis esse debet.

M. Nihilne habet Oratio Dominica quod huc pertineat ?

P. Nempe, quum optamus sanctificari eius nomen, hoc optamus ut omnibus eius operibus sua constet gloria. Ut sive peccatoribus ignoscat, misericors ; sive vindictam exerceat, iustus ; sive praestet suis quod promisit, verax censeatur. Denique ut, quicquid operum eius cernimus, ad eum glorificandum nos excitet. Hoc vero est, bonorum illi omnium laudem tribuere.

M. Quid tandem ex iis quae hactenus tractata sunt a nobis colligemus ?

P. Quod scilicet veritas ipsa docet et ego initio proposui : hanc esse vitam aeternam, unum verum Deum nosse patrem, et quem misit Iesum Christum. (Ioan. xvii. 3.) Illum, inquam, nosse, ut debitum ei honorem cultumque exhibeamus, utque nobis non Dominus tantum sit sed etiam Pater ac Servator, nosque illi vicissim filii simus et servi, et proinde vitam nostram illustrandae eius gloriae dedicemus.

M. Qua via ad tantum bonum pervenitur ?

P. In hunc finem sacrum suum Verbum nobis reliquit. Est enim spiritualis doctrina, quaedam veluti ianua, qua ingredimur in caeleste eius regnum.

M. Ubinam quaerendum nobis est hoc Verbum ?

P. In Scripturis sanctis, quibus continetur.

M. Ut fructum inde percipias qualiter eo utendum est ?

P. Si ipsum solida cordis persuasione amplectimur, non secus ac certam veritatem e caelo profectam ; si nos illi dociles praebemus : si voluntates mentesque nostras in eius obsequium subiicimus : si amamus ipsum ex animo : si cordibus nostris semel insculptum fixas illic radices habet, ut fructum proferat in vita ; si denique formamur ad eius regulam : tum nobis in salutem, sicuti destinatum est, cedit.

M. Suntne omnia haec in facultate nostra posita ?

P. Nihil ipsorum prorsus, sed unius Dei est hoc totum, quod retuli, in nobis efficere Spiritus sui gratia.

M. Verum annon adhibenda est a nobis diligentia, et omni studio enitendum, legendo, audiendo, meditando, ut eo proficiamus ?

P. Imo vero : quum se quisque privatim quotidiana lectione

exerceat: tum vero simul omnes praecipue sedulo conciones frequentent, ubi salutis doctrina in coetu fidelium explicatur.

M. Negas ergo esse satis, si domi seorsum singuli legant, nisi omnes simul in commune ad eandem doctrinam audiendam conveniant?

P. Convenire necesse est ubi licet, hoc est, quum facultas datur.

M. Potesne mihi hoc probare?

P. Sufficere ad probationem abunde nobis debet una Domini voluntas. Hunc autem ordinem Ecclesiae suae commendavit, non quem duo aut tres duntaxat servarent, sed cui subessent communiter omnes. Ad hoc, illius tum aedificandae tum conservandae hanc esse unicam rationem pronunciat. Sit ergo haec nobis sancta et inviolabilis regula: nec sibi fas quisquam esse ducat supra magistrum sapere.

M. Estne igitur necesse praeesse Ecclesiis pastores?

P. Quin etiam necesse est audire ipsos, et quam proponunt Christi doctrinam ex eorum ore cum timore et reverentia excipere. Itaque qui ipsos contemnit audire detrectat Christum contemnit ac discessionem facit a societate fidelium. (Matt. x. 40.)

M. Verum, semelne a pastore suo fuisse institutum satis est homini Christiano, an cursum hunc tota vita tenere debet?

P. Coepisse parum est nisi perseveres. Christi enim discipulos usque in finem vel potius sine fine esse nos oportet. Hanc vero functionem mandavit Ecclesiae ministris, ut suo nos loco et nomine doceant.

§ 5. De Sacramentis.

M. Non est aliud a Verbo medium, ut loquuntur, quo se nobiscum Deus communicet?

P. Verbi praedicationi adiunxit Sacramenta.

M. Quid est Sacramentum?

P. Externa divinae erga nos benevolentiae testificatio, quae visibili signo spirituales gratias figurat, ad obsignandas cordibus nostris Dei promissiones, quo earum veritas melius confirmetur.

M. Tantane vis subest visibili signo ut conscientias in salutis fiducia stabiliat?

P. Id quidem a seipso non habet, sed ex Dei voluntate, propterea quod sit in hunc finem institutum.

M. Quum propriae sint Spiritus sancti partes Dei promissiones in animis nostris obsignare, hoc tu Sacramentis quomodo tribuis?

P. Longum est inter illum et haec discrimen. Movere enim et afficere corda, illuminare mentes, conscientias reddere certas ac tranquillas, solius re vera Spiritus est, ut id totum censi proprium ipsius opus debeat, illique acceptum referri, ne laus alio transferatur: minime tamen hoc obstat quominus Sacramentis Deus utatur, tanquam secundis organis, eaque in usum adhibeat, prout visum fuerit: idque sic faciat ne quid Spiritus virtuti derogetur.

M. Vim ergo efficaciamque Sacramenti non in externo elemento inclusam esse existimas, sed totam a Spiritu Dei manare?

P. Sic sentio: nempe, ut virtutem suam exserere Domino placuerit per sua organa, quem in finem ea destinavit. Quod quidem ita facit ut Spiritus sui virtuti nihil detrahat.

M. Potesne nihi, cur ita agat, rationem reddere?

P. Hoc scilicet modo infirmitati nostrae consulit. Nam si spirituales essemus toti, Angelorum instar spiritualiter tum eum tum ipsius gratias possemus intueri. Verum, ut hac terreni corporis mole circumdati sumus, figuris indigemus vel speculis quae nobis spiritualium caelestiumque rerum aspectum terreno quodam modo exhibeant. Neque enim aliter eo perveniremus. Simul etiam nostra interest in Dei promissionibus exerceri sensus omnes nostros quo melius nobis confirmentur.

M. Si verum est ideo instituta esse a Deo Sacramenta, ut subsidia necessitatis nostrae forent, annon arrogantiae damnari merito deberet, si quis iudicaret illis se tanquam non necessariis posse carere?

P. Omnino. Atque adeo si quis illorum usu sponte abstinere, ac si opus non haberet, Christum contemnit, ipsius respuit gratiam, et Spiritum exstinguit.

M. Verum, qualis ex Sacramentis fiducia ad stabiliendas conscientias, et quam certa securitas concipi potest, quibus utuntur promiscue boni et mali?

P. Quanquam oblata sibi in Sacramentis Dei dona, in nihilum, ut ita dicam, redigunt impii, quantum ad ipsos spectat, non tamen propterea efficiunt quin sua vis et natura Sacramentis maneat.

M. Quo igitur modo et quando usum Sacramentorum sequitur effectus?

P. Quum ea fide recipimus, Christum in illis solum eiusque gratiam quaerentes.

M. Cur illic quaerendum esse Christum dicis?

P. Intelligo non esse visibilibus signis inhaerendum, ut

salutem inde petamus, vel affixam illic conferendae gratiae virtutem imaginemur ac inclusam: quin potius adminiculi loco habendum esse signum, quo recta ad Christum dirigamur, salutem ab ipso et solidam felicitatem petitori.

M. Quum ad eorum usum requiratur fides: qui nobis in fidei confirmationem data esse dicis, ut nos de promissionibus Dei reddant certiores?

P. Fidem in nobis semel inchoatam esse nequaquam sufficit, nisi continenter alatur, et magis in dies magisque augeat. Ad eam ergo tum alendam tum roborandam tum provehendam Sacramenta instituit Dominus. Quod quidem significat Paulus, (Rom. iv. 11) quum ad obsignandas Dei promissiones valere tradit.

M. Verum nonne hoc infidelitatis indicium est, non habere Dei promissionibus solidam fidem, nisi aliunde nobis confirmentur?

P. Fidei certe imbecillitatem hoc arguit, qua filii etiam Dei laborant, qui tamen fideles propterea esse non desinunt; licet fide praediti sint exigua adhuc et imperfecta. Quamdiu enim versamur in hoc mundo, haerent semper in carne nostra diffidentiae reliquiae, quas aliter excutere non possumus quam continuo usque ad vitae finem profectu. Ulterius ergo semper progredi necesse est.

M. Quot sunt Christianae Ecclesiae Sacramenta?

P. Duo sunt omnino, quorum communis sit inter omnes fideles usus.

M. Quae sunt illa?

P. Baptismus et sacra Coena.

M. Quid vero simile inter se habent vel diversum?

P. Baptismus veluti quidam in Ecclesiam aditus nobis est. Illic enim testimonium habemus nos, quum alioqui extranei alienique simus, in Dei familiam recipi, ut inter eius domesticos censeamur. Coena vero testatur Deum se nobis, animas nostras alendo, Patrem exhibere.

M. Quo clarius nobis innotescat utriusque veritas de utroque seorsum tractemus. Primum: Quae est Baptismi significatio?

P. Ea duas partes habet. Nam ibi remissio peccatorum, deinde spiritualis regeneratio figuratur. (Eph. v. 26; Rom. vi. 4.)

M. Quid similitudinis inest aquae cum his rebus ut eas repraesentet?

P. Peccatorum quidem remissio species est lavacri, quo

animae suis maculis absterguntur: non secus atque aqua abluuntur corporis sordes.

M. Quid de regeneratione?

P. Quoniam eius initium est naturae nostrae mortificatio, finis vero ut novae creaturae simus, in eo nobis proponitur mortis figura, quod capiti aqua iniicitur: novae autem vitae, in eo quod non manemus sub aqua demersi, sed ad momentum duntaxat subimus tanquam in sepulchrum, ut statim emergamus.

M. Num aquam esse animae lavacrum censes?

P. Nequaquam. Hunc enim honorem eripere Christi sanguini nefas est, qui ideo effusus fuit, ut, abstersis omnibus nostris maculis, puros coram Deo et inpollutos nos redderet. (1 Petr. i. 19; 1 Ioan. i. 7.) Atque huius quidem purificationis fructum percipimus, quum sacro illo sanguine conscientias nostras Spiritus sanctus aspergit. Obsignationem vero in Sacramento habemus.

M. Verum, annon aliud aquae tribuis, nisi ut ablutionis tantum sit figura?

P. Sic figuram esse sentio, ut simul annexa sit veritas. Neque enim sua nobis dona pollicendo nos Deus frustratur. Proinde et peccatorum veniam et vitae novitatem offerri nobis in Baptismo et recipi a nobis certum est.

M. An promiscue in omnibus impletur haec gratia?

P. Multi dum illi sua pravitate viam praecludunt, efficiunt ut sibi sit inanis. Ita non nisi ad fideles solos pervenit fructus. Verum inde nihil Sacramenti naturae decedit.

M. Regeneratio autem unde?

P. A morte Christi et resurrectione simul. Haec enim vis subest eius morti ut per eam crucifigatur vetus homo noster et naturae nostrae vitiositas quodammodo sepeliatur, ne amplius vigeat in nobis. Quod autem reformamur in novam vitam ad obediendum Dei iustitiae, id est resurrectionis beneficium.

M. Quomodo per Baptismum nobis haec bona conferuntur?

P. Quia nisi promissiones illic nobis oblatas respuendo infructuosas reddimus, vestimur Christo eiusque Spiritu donamur.

M. Nobis vero quid agendum est ut rite Baptismo utamur?

P. Rectus Baptismi usus in fide et poenitentia situs est: hoc est ut statuamus primum certa animi fiducia nos ab omnibus maculis Christi sanguine purgatos Deo placere; deinde ut Spiritum eius sentiamus ipsi in nobis habitare atque id operibus apud alios declaremus; utque assidue nos in medi-

tanda tum carnis mortificatione tum iustitiae Dei obedientia exerceamus.

M. Si haec requiruntur ad legitimum Baptismi usum, qui fit ut *infantes* baptizemus?

P. Non est necesse ut Baptismus semper fides et poenitentia praecedant; sed ab iis tantum exiguntur qui per aetatem iam sunt utriusque capaces. Satis ergo fuerit si infantes, postquam adoleverint, Baptismi sui vim exserant.

M. Poterisne ratione demonstrare nihil esse in ea re absurdi?

P. Sane. Si mihi concessum fuerit, nihil Dominum instituisse quod sit a ratione dissentaneum. Nam quum *Circumcisionem* poenitentiae signum fuisse Moses (Deut. xxx. 6) et omnes Prophetae (Ierem. iv. 4) doceant, fidei etiam sacramentum, teste Paulo (Rom. iv. 11), fuerit: videmus tamen ut infantes ab ea non excluderentur.

M. Sed eademne causa, quae in Circumcisione valuit, nunc ad Baptismum admittendi sunt?

P. Prorsus eadem: quum promissiones quas olim Deus populo Israelitico dederat nunc sint per totum orbem publicatae.

M. Atqui num inde colligis signum quoque usurpandum esse?

P. Qui bene utrumque expendet omnia, hoc consequi animadvertet. Neque enim eius gratiae, quae Israeli ante collata fuerat, hac lege nos participes fecit Christus, ut vel obscurior erga nos esset, vel aliqua ex parte imminuta. Quin potius, et luculentius iam in nos et abundantius effudit.

M. Putasne, si a Baptismo arceantur infantes, quicquam propterea Dei gratiae decedere, ut dici possit Christi adventu fuisse imminuta?

P. Id quidem evidenter patet. Signo enim sublato, quod ad testandam Dei misericordiam et confirmandas promissiones plurimum valet, deesset nobis eximia consolatio, qua fruebantur veteres.

M. Sic ergo sentis: quum Deus sub veteri Testamento, ut se Patrem parvulorum ostenderet, salutis promissionem in eorum corporibus insculptam esse voluerit signo visibili, indignum fore, si minus confirmationis a Christi adventu habeant fideles: quando et eadem hodie nobis promissio destinatur, quae olim Patribus, et clarius bonitatis suae specimen nobis in Christo exhibuit Deus.

P. Sic sentio. Praeterea quum satis constet, vim sub-

stantiamque, ut ita loquar, Baptismi infantibus esse communem: si illis negaretur signum, quod veritate est inferius, aperta illis iniuria fieret.

M. Qua ergo conditione baptizandi sunt infantes?

P. Ut testatum fiat, benedictionis fidelium semini promissae ipsos esse haeredes; ut agnita, postquam adoleverint, Baptismi sui veritate, fructum ex eo percipiant ac proferant.

M. Transeamus ad Coenam. Ac primo quidem ex te scire velim, quae sit eius significatio?

P. Ideo a Christo instituta est, ut corporis et sanguinis sui communicatione educari in spem vitae aeternae animas nostras nos doceret, idque nobis certum redderet.

M. Cur autem *pane* corpus, *vino* sanguis Domini figuratur?

P. Nempe hinc docemur, quam vini habet panis in nutriendis corporibus, ad sustinendam praesentem vitam, eandem corpori Domini inesse, ad alendas spiritualiter animas. Sicuti vino exhilarantur hominum corda, reficiuntur vires, totus homo roboratur: ita ex Domini sanguine eosdem ab animis nostris usus percipi.

M. Ergone corpore Domini et sanguine vescimur?

P. Ita sentio. Nam quum in eo sita sit tota salutis nostrae fiducia, ut accepta nobis feratur obedientia ipsius, quam Patri praestitit, perinde ac si nostra foret: ipsum a nobis possideri necesse est. Neque enim bona nobis sua aliter communicat, nisi dum se nostrum facit.

M. Atqui, nonne tunc se dedit, quum se exposuit in mortem, ut nos a mortis iudicio redemptos Patri reconciliaret?

P. Id quidem verum est: sed non satis est nobis, nisi eum nunc recipiamus: quo mortis eius efficacia fructusque ad nos perveniat.

M. Recipiendi porro modus an non fide constat?

P. Fateor. Sed hoc simul addo, fieri id, dum non solum mortuum credimus, quo nos a morte liberaret: et suscitatum, quo nobis vitam acquireret: sed in nobis habitare agnoscimus, nosque illi coniunctos esse eo unitatis genere quo membra cum capite suo cohaerent: ut huius unitatis beneficio omnium eius bonorum participes fiamus.

M. Numquid hanc communionem per solam Coenam obtinemus?

P. Imo vero. Nam et per Evangelium, teste Paulo (1 Cor. i. 6), nobis communicatur Christus; et merito hoc Paulus docet: quum illic audiamus, nos carnem esse de carne eius et ossa ex ossibus (Eph. v. 30); ipsum esse panem vivum, qui e

coelo ad nutriendas animas nostras descendit (Ioan. vi. 51); nos unum esse cum ipso, sicuti cum Patre unum est (Ioan. xvii. 21); et similia.

M. Quid amplius ex Sacramento consequimur, aut quid praeterea utilitatis nobis confert?

P. Hoc scilicet: quod illa, de qua dixi, communicatio nobis confirmatur et augetur. Tametsi enim tum in Baptismo tum in Evangelio nobis exhibetur Christus: eum tamen non recipimus totum, sed ex parte tantum.

M. Quid ergo in symbolo panis habemus?

P. Corpus Christi, ut semel pro nobis ad nos Deo reconciliandos immolatum fuit, ita nunc quoque nobis dari: ut certo sciamus, reconciliationem ad nos pertinere.

M. Quid in vini symbolo?

P. Christum, ut suum sanguinem semel in peccatorum satisfactionem pretiumque redemptionis nostrae effudit, ita nunc eum nobis bibendum porrigere, ut fructum qui inde pervenire ad nos debet sentiamus.

M. Secundum has duas responsiones sacra Domini Coena ad eius mortem nos amandat, ut eius virtuti communicemus?

P. Omnino; tunc enim unicum perpetuumque sacrificium, quod in salutem nostram sufficeret, peractum est. Proinde nihil restat amplius, nisi ut ipso fruamur.

M. Ergo non in hunc finem instituta est Coena ut Deo Filii sui corpus offeratur?

P. Minime. Solus enim ipse, quum aeternus sit Sacerdos (Hebr. v. 5, 10), hanc praerogativam habet. Atque hoc sonant eius verba, quum ait: *Accipite et manducate* (Matt. xxvi. 29). Neque enim ut offeramus corpus suum, sed tantum ut eo vescamur, illic praecipit.

M. Cur duobus utimur signis?

P. In eo Dominus infirmitati nostrae consuluit, quo nos familiarius doceret, se non cibum modo animis nostris, sed potum quoque esse, ne alibi quam in eo solo ullam spiritualis vitae partem quaeramus.

M. An utroque uti peraeque omnes absque exceptione debent?

P. Ita fert Christi mandatum: cui ullo modo derogare, aliquid contra tentando, summum est nefas.

M. Solanne eorum, quae dixisti, beneficiorum significatio- nem habemus in Coena, an illic re ipsa nobis exhibentur?

P. Quum Dominus noster Christus ipsa sit veritas, minime dubium est, quin promissiones, quas dat illic nobis, simul etiam

impleat: et figuris suam addat veritatem. Quamobrem non dubito quin sicuti verbis ac signis testatur, ita etiam suae nos substantiae participes faciat, quo in unam cum eo vitam coalescamus.

M. Verum qui hoc fieri potest, quum in coelo sit Christi corpus, nos autem in terra adhuc peregrinemur?

P. Hoc mirifica arcanaque Spiritus sui virtute efficit: cui difficile non est sociare, quae locorum intervallo alioqui sunt disiuncta.

M. Ergo nec corpus in pane inclusum esse, nec sanguinem in calice imaginari?

P. Nequaquam. Quin potius ita sentio, ut veritate potiamur signorum, erigendas esse in coelum mentes, ubi Christus est, et unde eum exspectamus iudicem et redemptorem: in his vero terrenis elementis perperam et frustra quaeri.

M. Ut in summam colligamus quae dixisti: duas in Coena res esse asseris: nempe, panem et vinum, quae oculis ceruntur, attrahantur manibus, percipiuntur gustu: deinde Christum, quo interius animae nostrae, tanquam proprio suo alimento, pascuntur.

P. Verum, et eo quidem usque, ut corporum etiam resurrectioni illic nobis, quasi dato pignore, confirmetur: quum et ipsa vitae symbolo communicent.

M. Quis autem rectus erit huius Sacramenti ac legitimus usus?

P. Qualem Paulus (1 Cor. xi. 28) definit: Ut probet seipsum homo, priusquam eo accedat.

M. Quidnam in hac probatione inquiret?

P. Num verum sit Christi membrum.

M. Quibus ad eius rei notitiam argumentis perveniet?

P. Si vera sit poenitentia fideque praeditus: si proximos sincero amore prosequatur: si animum ab omni odio malevolentiaeque purum habeat.

M. Num perfectam in homine tum fidem tum charitatem exigis?

P. Utramque sane integram et ab omni fuco vacuam esse convenit. Verum frustra exigatur tam absoluta numeris omnibus perfectio, in qua nihil desideretur, quando tanta nunquam in homine inveniri poterit.

M. Non ergo ab accessu nos arcet imperfectio, qua adhuc laboramus.

P. Quin potius, si perfecti essemus, nullum amplius usum inter nos haberet Coena: quae sublevandae nostrae imbecillitati adminiculum esse debet ac imperfectionis subsidium.

M. Nullumne praeterea alium finem propositum habent haec duo Sacramenta?

P. Sunt etiam professionis nostrae notae, et quasi tesserae quaedam. Illorum enim usu fidem apud homines nostram profitemur, et testamur nos unum habere in Christo religionis consensum.

M. Si quempiam contingeret eorum usum aspernari, quo loco habendus esset?

P. Haec vero obliqua esset Christi abnegatio. Certe qui talis est, quum se Christianum confiteri non dignetur, indignus est, qui inter Christianos censeatur.

M. Satisne est, in totam vitam utrumque semel recepisse?

P. Usque adeo sufficit unus Baptismus, ut repetere fas non sit. Coenae autem diversa est ratio.

M. Quod est discrimen illud?

P. Per Baptismum nos adoptat, et in Ecclesiam suam allegit Dominus, ut pro domesticis nos exinde habeat. Postquam nos adscripsit in numerum suorum, per Coenam testatur de nobis continenter alendis curam se habere.

M. Promiscuene ad omnes pertinet tam Baptismi quam Coenae administratio?

P. Nequaquam : sed eorum, quibus mandatum est publicum docendi munus, propriae sunt istae partes. Sunt enim res inter se perpetuo nexu coniunctae, pascere Ecclesiam salutis doctrina, et Sacramenta administrare.

M. Possisne mihi Scripturae testimonio id comprobare?

P. Baptizandi quidem mandatum Christus peculiariter Apostolis dedit (Matt. xxviii. 19). In Coenae celebratione exemplum suum iussit nos sequi (Luc. xxii. 19). Referunt autem Evangelistae, ipsum in ea distribuenda publici ministri fecisse officium.

M. Verum, debentne pastores, quibus commissa est dispensatio, passim omnes et absque delectu admittere?

P. Quod ad Baptismum pertinet, quia non nisi infantibus hodie confertur, discretio locum non habet. In Coena vero cavere debet minister ne cui ipsam porrigat quem indignum esse palam constet.

M. Cur id?

P. Quia non sine contumelia et profanatione Sacramenti fieret.

M. Atqui, nonne Iudam, quamlibet impius esset, eius communionem dignatus est Christus?

P. Fateor : quum adhuc occulta foret eius impietas. Tamen si enim Christum non latebat (Matt. xxvi. 25), nondum tamen prodierat in lucem notitiamque hominum.

M. Quid ergo hypocritis fiet?

P. Eos, tanquam indignos, arcere pastor non pōtest; sed supersedere debet, quousque eorum nequitiam, ut hominibus innotescat, Deus revelaverit.

M. Quid si quempiam ipse indignum noverit, aut fuerit admonitus?

P. Ne id quidem ad eos communione abdicandos foret satis, nisi legitima cognitio Ecclesiaeque iudicium accedat.

M. Certum ergo gubernationis ordinem constitutum in Ecclesiis habere operae pretium est.

P. Verum est: nec enim aliter bene moratae sunt, nec rite compositae. Haec autem ratio est, ut deligantur Seniores, qui morum censurae praesint cavendisque offendiculis invigilent; et quos agnoverint recipiendae Coenae nequaquam esse capaces, nec admitti quidem posse quin Sacramentum polluat, eos a communicatione reiiciant.

No. 305. The Genevan Liturgy, 1542.

(1) Precum Ecclesiasticarum Formula.¹

Diebus quidem profestis Minister populum ad precandum, quibus ei visum fuerit verbis, adhortatur, suam nimirum exhortationem ad tempus et ad argumentum concionis, quam habiturus est, accommodans; at Dominico die mane haec ut plurimum adhibetur formula:

Adiutorium nostrum sit in nomine Domini qui fecit caelum et terram, Amen.

Fratres, unusquisque nostrum se Domino sistat suaeque peccata confiteatur, ac me his verbis praeceuntem mente subsequatur.

Domine Deus Pater aeternae et omnipotens, agnoscimus et ingenue profitemur apud sanctam maiestatem tuam, nos miseros peccatores esse, conceptos, et natos in iniquitate et pravitate, ad nequitiam proclives, ad omne autem bonum opus inutiles, nosque, ut vitiosi sumus, nullum transgrediendi sancta tua mandata finem facere. Quo sit ut exitium a iusto iudicio tuo nobis accersamus. Attamen, Domine, anxie gemimus, quod te offenderimus, ac nos vitiaeque nostra damnamus, cum vera poenitentia, optantes, ut gratia tua nostrae succurrat miseriae.

Tua igitur nos misericordia dignare, Deus et Pater clemen-

¹ For comments see Daniel, *Codex Liturgicus*, iii. 51 sqq., 157 sqq.; Rietschel, *Lehrbuch der Liturgik*, i. 414 sqq.; and Procter and Frere, *A New History of the Book of Common Prayer*, 131 sq.

tissime ac summe misericors, in nomine Filii tui Iesu Christi Domini nostri. Et vitia nostra delens omnesque sordes nostras ablens in dies dona sancti tui Spiritus nobis adauge, ut corde intimo iniquitatem nostram agnoscentes magis ac magis nobis displiceamus atque ita ad veram poenitentiam stimulemur, haec autem nos cum omnibus peccatis mortificans fructus iustitiae et innocentiae tibi gratos producat, per illum ipsum Iesum Christum Dominum nostrum.

Hic finitis, canitur a toto coetu Psalmus aliquis; deinde Minister ad preces revertitur, quibus a Domino gratiam sancti sui Spiritus petit ut verbum eius fideliter ad nominis ipsius gloriam et ad Ecclesiae aedificationem exponatur, et quali decet submissione animi obedientiaeque excipiat. Precationis autem formulam ad id aptam Minister sibi pro arbitrio deligit. Absoluta concione is populum ad orandum hortatus ita incipit:

Deus omnipotens, Pater coelestis, te exauditurum preces quas tibi in nomine dilecti Filii tui Iesu Christi Domini nostri funderemus, nobis pollicitus es; et cum ab illo tum ab eius Apostolis unum in locum nobis in eius nomine conveniendum esse edocti sumus, addita etiam promissione fore eum nobis praesentem, ut apud te pro nobis intercedat impetretque omnia quae unanimi consensu a te petierimus super terram.

Primo pro iis quos nobis dominatores et gubernatores prae-fecisti precari nos iubes: deinde vero pro omnibus quae populo tuo atque adeo cunctis mortalibus necessaria sunt supplices ad te accedere. Tuis igitur sacrosanctis praeceptis promissionibusque freti, quandoquidem in conspectum tuum prodimus, in nomine Filii tui Domini nostri Iesum congregati, supplices et ex animo rogamus, Deus et Pater optime, in nomine eiusdem qui Servator noster et Mediator unicus est, ut (quae tua est immensa clementia) nobis peccata nostra condonare atque ita cogitationes nostras ad te attrahere digneris, ut ex intimis cordis penetralibus invocare te possimus, ea in re vota nostra ad obsequium tuae voluntatis formantes, quae sola rationi consentanea est.

Tibi igitur preces fundimus, Pater coelestis, pro omnibus principibus et magistratibus quorum ministerio ad nos gubernandos uteris. Potissimum vero pro huius urbis Praefectis, ut Spiritum tuum, qui solus bonus est et vere principalis, impertiri illis atque in dies augere digneris, adeo ut Iesum Christum Filium tuum, Dominum nostrum, Dominatorem dominatorum Regemque regum esse certo persuasum habentes, quemadmodum tu illum omni potestate in coelo et in terra donavisti,

ita et ipsi in suo principatu cultum illius et regni eius amplificationem sibi ante omnia proponant, suos subditos (qui sunt manuum tuarum opificia et pascuorum tuorum oves) pro tuo arbitrio gubernantes, ut et hic et in alia qualibet orbis terrarum parte pace stabili fruentes te cum omni sanctimonia et puritate colamus, metuque hostium nostrorum liberati materiam celebrandae tuae laudis toto vitae nostrae tempore habeamus.

Deinde precibus nostris tibi commendamus, Pater verax et Servator, omnes quotquot fidelibus tuis pastores constituisti, quorum etiam tutelae animas commisisti, quos denique sacrosancti tui Evangelii dispensatores esse voluisti: ut eos sancto tuo Spiritu regas, quo probi fidelesque gloriae tuae ministri comperiantur, huc studium omne conferentes conatusque suos dirigentes, ut omnes miserae oves quae adhuc sunt errabundae recolligantur et ad Iesum Christum Dominum nostrum, praecipuum Pastorem et episcoporum Principem, reducantur, ut in dies maius iustitiae et sanctimoniae incrementum in eo accipiant. Interea autem omnes tuas Ecclesias e faucibus rapacium luporum eripere et ab omnibus mercenariis liberare digneris, qui gloriae tantum aut lucri cupiditate ducuntur, de tui nominis illustratione tuique gregis salute nihil plane solliciti.

Insuper tibi preces nostras offerimus, Deus clementissime et Pater summe misericors, pro omnibus in universum hominibus, ut, quemadmodum totius humani generis agnosci vis Servator per redemptionem a Iesu Christo Filio tuo praestitam, ita ii qui adhuc ab illius notitia sunt alieni tenebrisque immersi et ab erroribus ac ignorantia tenentur captivi, affulgente illis sancto tuo Spiritu tuoque Evangelio auribus illorum insonante, ad rectam salutis reducantur viam quae in eo sita est, ut agnoscamus te solum verum Deum et quem misisti Iesum Christum. Rogamus et ut ii quos iam gratiae tuae favore dignatus es quorumque mentibus per cognitionem verbi tui illuxisti quotidie in melius proficiant spiritualibus tuis benedictionibus ditati, ut simul omnes uno et corde et ore te adoremus, Christumque tuum, Dominum nostrum, Regem et Legislatorem, honore debito prosequamur ac iusto obsequio colamus.

Praeterea etiam, o Deus omnis consolationis auctor, commendamus tibi quoscunque variis modis castigas populos, qui peste vel fame vel bello afflicti laborant, singulos etiam homines qui vel paupertate vel carcere vel morbo exiliove aut alia ulla corporis sive animi aerumna premuntur, ut prudenter reputantes finem tibi esse propositum eos tuis ferulis in viam revocandi, imbuti hoc paterni tui amoris sensu, sincero cordis affectu

resipiscant, ut toto animo ad te convertantur et conversi plenam consolationem reportent omnibusque malis liberentur.

Maiorem autem in modum tibi commendamus miseros fratres nostros, quotquot sub Antichristi tyrannide dispersi vivunt, cibo vitae spiritualis destituti et libertate palam invocandi nominis tui privati, atque adeo qui aut in carcerem coniecti sunt aut alio quopiam modo ab hostibus Evangelii tui oppressi: ut eos, o indulgentissime Pater, Spiritus tui robore fulcire digneris, ita ut nunquam animum despondeant, sed constanter in sancta tua vocatione permaneant; ut manum illis porrigere, prout id illis conducere nosti, consolari etiam adversis in rebus et in tuam tutelam receptos a luporum rabie defendere, omnibus denique Spiritus tui donis cumulare velis, quo eorum vita pariter et mors ad gloriam tuam spectent.

Postremo, o Deus et Pater, a nobis, qui hic in nomine Filii tui Iesu verbique eius [et sanctae eius Coenae] gratia congregati sumus, sine te hoc exorari: ut, vere nobis conscii perditae nostrae originis, simul etiam reputemus quantum damnationem mereamur et quanto cumulo in dies nobis impura et scelesti vita eam augeamus; ut, quum nos boni omnis vacuos esse carmenque nostram et sanguinem plane a cernenda regni tui haereditate abhorreere cognoverimus, ex intimo cordis sensu firmave fiducia dilecto Filio tuo Iesu Christo, Domino nostro et Servatori ac Redemptori unico, nos dedamus; ut in nobis ipse habitans veterem illum nostrum Adamum exstinguat ac in meliorem vitam renovet et instauret, per quam nomen tuum, prout sanctitate et dignitate pollet, omni in regione omnique in loco laudibus extollatur et gloriam sibi debitam consequatur. Simul etiam ut ius imperiumque in nos obtineas, utque in dies magis ac magis tuae maiestati nos submittere discamus, ita ut ubique locorum regnans domineris, populum tuum sceptro verbi tui Spiritusque tui potentia gubernans, tuorum autem hostium conatus veritatis et iustitiae tuae robore pessundans. Atque ita fiat ut omnis potentia et celsitudo se gloriae tuae opponens in dies destruaturn atque aboleatur, donec regnum tuum suis omnibus numeris compleatur eiusque perfectio penitus stabiliatur: quum videlicet iudex in persona Filii tui comparebis. Ut nos una cum omnibus creaturis veram plenamque obedientiam tibi praestemus, sicut caelestes Angeli tui exsequendis mandatis tuis toti sunt addicti. Atque ita voluntas tua nemine repugnante obtineat omnesque tibi obsequi teque colere studeant, propriae voluntati omnibusque carnis suae cupiditatibus renunciantes. Ut nos amorem timoremque tui

in omnibus vitae nostrae actionibus retinentes pro benignitate tua alas, ac nobis quaecunque ad vescendum quiete et tranquille pane nostro necessaria sunt sufficias: quo te nostri curam gerere videntes melius Patrem nostrum agnoscamus omniaque bona e manu tua exspectemus, nihil amplius spei et fiduciae in ulla creatura, sed totam in tua bonitate collocantes. Iam vero quoniam in hac mortali vita miseri peccatores sumus, tanta imbecillitate laborantes ut assidue diffiliamus et a recta via declinemus, peccata nostra nobis condonare digneris, quorum rei apud tuum iudicium sumus; et per hanc condonationem nexu mortis aeternae, quoque obstricti sumus, liberemur. Ne igitur eam qua praediti sumus nequitiam nobis imputes; quemadmodum ipsi, mandato tuo parentes, iniuriarum quae nobis inferuntur obliviscimur, ac tantum abest ut de ulciscendis hostibus cogitemus, ut etiam commoda eorum procuremus. In posterum denique nos tua potentia fulcire digneris, ne (quae est carnis nostrae infirmitas) excidamus. Ac, quum tam sint imbecillae vires nostrae ut ne ad momentum quidem temporis consistere possimus, praeterea etiam quum assidue tot hostes nos circumdant et adorianur, quum diabolus, mundus, peccatum, caro nostra, nullum faciant nos oppugnandi finem, sancto tuo Spiritu nos corrobora tuaeque gratiae donis arma, ut constanter omnibus tentationibus resistere et hoc spirituale praelium sustinere possimus, donec plena victoria potiti tandem aliquando in tuo regno cum Imperatore et Protectore nostro Iesu Christo, Domino nostro, triumphemus. Amen.

Post haec recitatur Apostolorum Symbolum.

Quo autem die celebratur Coena, haec praecedentibus adduntur.

Ac quemadmodum Dominus noster Iesus, non contentus tibi semel corpus suum et sanguinem in cruce obtulisse pro remissione peccatorum nostrorum, nobis quoque in alimentum vitae aeternae destinavit: ita hoc nobis pro tua beneficentia largire, ut vera cordis sinceritate et ardenti desiderio tantum beneficium ab eo accipiamus; nimirum ut certa fide praediti corpore pariter et sanguine eius vel potius eo toto fruamur, sicut ipse, quum verus sit homo et Deus, vere est sanctus panis caelestis ad nos vivificandos; ut non amplius in nobis ipsis et ad nostrum ingenium, quod omnino depravatum est, vivamus, sed ipse in nobis vivat, ut ad sanctam vitam, beatam et in aeternum permanentem, nobis deducat, atque ita novi et aeterni Testamenti vere participes fiamus, nimirum foederis gratiae,

hoc persuasissimum habentes, te velle nobis in perpetuum Patrem propitium esse, delicta nostra nobis non imputando, ac tanquam caris filiis et haeredibus omnia tam animae quam corpori necessaria suppeditare; ut te sine fine laudibus et gratiarum actione prosequamur, tuumque nomen tum dictis tum factis illustre reddamus. Effice igitur hodie nos hoc modo, Pater coelestis, celebrandae faustae Filii tui memoriae compotes; da etiam ut nos in ea exerceamus ac mortis eius beneficium praedicemus, quo novum incrementum ac robur tam ad fidem quam ad aliud quodlibet bonum accipientes, eo maiore fiducia nos tuos esse filios profiteamur et in te Patre gloriemur.

Peracta autem Coena haec gratiarum actio vel aliqua ei similis adhibetur.

Laudum et gratiarum actione immortalis te prosequimur, Pater coelestis, pro tanto quod in nos miseros peccatores contulisti beneficio, dum ad participationem Filii tui Iesu Christi nos adduxisti, quem pro nobis morti passus es tradi, et nunc in vitae aeternae alimentum impertiris. Iam vero tuam in nos prosequens beneficentiam, ne unquam haec a nobis oblivioni dari permittas, sed fac potius ut ea cordibus insculpta gerentes proficiamus et crescamus in fide, quae ad omne opus bonum sit efficax. Unde etiam fiat ut reliquum vitae nostrae cursum propagationi gloriae tuae et aedificationi proximorum dedicemus: per illum ipsum Iesum Christum Filium tuum, qui in unitate sancti Spiritus vivit tecum et regnat in aeternum. Amen.

Benedictio quam Minister populo discessuro precatur, secundum divinae Legis praeceptum.

Benedicat vobis Dominus vosque servet incolumes. Dominus vos splendore vultus sui illustret vobisque sit propitius. Convertat Dominus faciem suam ad vos et omnia prospera vobis largiatur.

(2) Formula Sacramentorum Administrandorum.

(a) Formula Baptismi administrandi.

In primis illud scire oportet, apportandos esse infantes ad Baptismum aut Dominicis diebus Catechismi tempore aut aliis diebus ad concionem, ut, quemadmodum Baptismus solennis quaedam est cooptatio in Ecclesiam, ita in conspectu et oculis totius concionis celebretur.

Absoluta concione offertur infans. Tum Minister publicus ita exorditur:

Auxilium nostrum in nomine Domini qui fecit caelum et terram, Amen.

Huncine infantem offertis ut baptizetur?

Resp. Maxime.

Minister.

Dominus nobis dilucide commonstrat quanta in foeditate et miseria vitiositateque nascimur, quum ait nobis renascendum esse. Etenim si naturam nostram renovari oportet, ut in Dei regnum intromittamur: satis magnum argumentum est eam penitus corruptam Deoque detestabilem esse. Itaque hac de causa monet nos ut summisso et humili animo simus nostraque nobis turpitudine acerbitati et odio sit. Eaque ratione nos ad gratiam ipsius expetendam praeparat, qua prioris naturae nostrae perversitas et indignitas extinguatur et funditus deleatur. Neque enim prius ei locus est in nobis, nisi quum totius nostrae virtutis, iustitiae, sapientiae fiduciam usque eo abiicimus, ut quaecunque in nobis sunt damnemus ac repudiemus.

Porro autem ubi nostram nobis turpitudinem foeditatemque aperuit ac commonstravit, tum consolationem nobis pro sua misericordia impertit, pollicens fore ut Spiritu suo sancto nos in vitam alteram exsuscitet, quae nobis quasi ingressus quidam sit in ipsius Regnum. Haec regeneratio bipartita est: nam et nobis prorsus renunciandum est, ac neque rationi neque voluntati neque voluptati libidinique nostrae obtemperandum; quin potius mentem animumque nostrum sapientiae iustitiaeque Dei subiici oportet, et quicquid ex nostro est et nostra carne extingui: tum praeterea lucem Domini sequi convenit eiusque sanctissimae voluntati morem gerere, quemadmodum ipse verbo suo nos docet Spirituque suo sancto nobis praelucet viamque commonstrat. Utrumque autem hoc in Domino nostro Iesu Christo impletum ac perfectum est, cuius mors et passio tantam vim habet, ut eam participantes quasi sepulti peccato simus, ut carnis nostrae concupiscentiae mortificentur atque extinguantur. Huc accedit, quod vi resurrectionis ipsius in vitam novam excitamur, quae a Deo est, quatenus Spiritus eius nos regit ac moderatur, ut in nobis ea opera perficiat quae illi grata et accepta sint. Hoc tamen caput est salutis nostrae, ut nobis delicta omnia nostra pro sua misericordia condonet, ea nobis non imputans, sed eorum memoriam delens atque obliterans, ne quando nobis ea in iudicio illius obliantur.

His omnibus beneficiis afficimur quum per Baptismum in Corpus Ecclesiae nos inserit. In hoc enim Sacramento nobis peccatorum remissionem testificatur. Ob eamque causam aquae signum notamque instituit, significans atque adeo aperte ostendens, quemadmodum eo elemento maculae corporis eluuntur, eodem modo velle se animos nostros purgare atque expiare, ne ulla amplius labes aut macula appareat. Hoc amplius renovationem nobis nostram in eo offert, quae, quemadmodum iam diximus, versatur in carnis nostrae mortificatione vitaeque spirituali, quam in nobis effert ac procreat. Itaque duplici beneficio afficimur a Deo in Baptismo, modo ne vim huiusce Sacramenti ingrato et immemori animo extinguamus. Nam et testimonium in eo certissimum habemus Deum velle nobis parentis esse propitii loco, neque eum delicta nostra nobis imputaturum, tum autem Spiritu suo sancto nobis praesto futurum, ut diabolo, peccato, et carnis nostrae concupiscentiis resistere tamdiu et repugnare possimus, dum victoriam consequamur, ut in Regni sui libertate vivamus, quod iustitiae Regnum est.

Quum igitur haec duo in nobis per Iesu Christi gratiam impleantur, satis constat Baptismi veritatem et substantiam in eo comprehendi et concludi. Non enim aliud lavacrum habemus, nisi eius sanguinem; neque aliam renovationem, nisi in eius morte et resurrectione. Sed quemadmodum nobiscum bona divitiasque suas per verbum communicat, eodem modo per Sacramenta nobis ea impertit et largitur.

Iam vero optimus et benignissimus Deus noster, non contentus nos in filios suos adoptasse atque in Ecclesiae suae communionem admisisse, largius adhuc atque prolixius suam in nos benignitatem conferre voluit: nobis videlicet pollicens fore ut Deus sit et noster, et vere etiam generis posteritatisque nostrae, adusque millesimam generationem. Quamobrem etsi fidelium liberi sint ex Adami corrupta stirpe ac genere, eos ad se nihilominus admittit, propter foedus videlicet cum eorum parentibus initum, eosque pro liberis suis habet ac numerat: ob eamque causam iam inde ab initio nascentis Ecclesiae voluit infantibus Circumcisionis notam imprimi, qua quidem nota iam tum eadem omnia significabat ac demonstrabat quae hodie in Baptismo designantur. Et quemadmodum eos circumcidi iubebat, sic in suorum liberorum loco ac numero eos habebat seque parentem ipsorum non minus quam eorum, a quibus geniti erant, profitebatur.

Nunc vero, quum Dominus Iesus in terras descenderit, non

ut Dei Patris gratiam et beneficium imminueret, sed quo salutis foedus per omnes terrarum fines propagaret, quae tum temporis in populo Iudaico inclusa fuerat: minime dubium est quin liberi nostri haeredes sint eius vitae ac salutis quam nobis est pollicitus: qua de causa sanctificari eos Paulus affirmat, iam inde ab utero matris, quo ab Ethnicorum et a vera religione abhorrentium hominum liberis discernantur. Eoque Dominus noster Iesus Christus pueros, qui ei offerebantur, admisit; sicuti scriptum est Matthaei decimo nono capite: Tum oblati sunt ei parvuli, ut manus eis imponeret et oraret; discipuli autem eos increpabant. Iesus vero ait eis: Sinite parvulos, et ne prohibeatis eos ad me venire. Talium est enim regnum coelorum. Quum affirmat regnum coelorum eorum esse iisque manus imponit et Deo Patri suo eos commendat, satis nos docet minime excludendos esse illos ab ipsius Ecclesia. Hanc igitur ipsius regulam et praescriptionem sequentes, infantem hunc in eius Ecclesiam admitteremus, ut bonorum omnium quae suis fidelibus promisit, particeps fiat. Ac primum eum nos adhibita precatione illi offeremus, humili ac summisso animo suppliciter dicentes:

Domine Deus, Pater aeternae et omnipotens, quando pro tua infinita clementia nobis pollicitus es fore te Deum et nostrum et liberorum nostrorum: oramus te ut beneficium illud tuum in hoc infante confirmare digneris, parentibus iis genito, quos in Ecclesiam tuam cooptasti. Et quemadmodum tibi a nobis offertur ac consecratur, ita in tutelam tuam eum recipias, Deum te et Servatorem eius esse demonstrans, peccatum ei originis condonans ac remittens, cuius genus omne Adami culpam sustinet, eumque praeterea Spiritu tuo sanctificans, ut, quum ad aetatem iudicii atque intelligentiae capacem progressus erit, te solum Deum et Servatorem agnoscat et veneretur, per omnem vitae cursum tibi laudem et gloriam tribuens, ut perpetuo suorum peccatorum condonationem abs te consequatur. Ut vero beneficia haec accipere possit, eum tu in communionem Domini nostri Iesu cooptare digneris, ut omnibus eius bonis tanquam unum ex eius corporis membris participet. Exaudi nos, Pater misericordiae, ut Baptismus, quem ei ex instituto tuo imperimus, fructum vinque suam exserat qualem nobis Evangelii tui doctrina monstrat.

Pater noster, &c.

Quoniam admittendus est hic infans in Christianam Ecclesiam, spondetis, quum ad aetatem iudicii prudentiaeque com-

potem pervenerit, eum vos doctrina, quae a populo Dei recepta et probata est, instructuros; sicuti breviter et summatim comprehensa est in ea confessione fidei, quam omnes tenemus.

Credo, &c.

Spondetis igitur vos daturos operam, ut omni hac disciplina instruat, ac generatim omnibus his, quae scriptis divinis continentur, id est, tum veteri tum novo Testamento; ut ea amplectatur et audiat tanquam verbum sermonemque Dei certissimum, coelitus demissum. Eum praeterea hortabimini, ut ad eam normam et regulam vitam suam instituat quam nobis Deus in Lege sua praescripsit, cuius haec summa sunt capita: primum, ut Deum toto pectore, animo et viribus, tum praeterea proximum nostrum non secus quam nosmetipsos diligamus. Item ut sermoni et admonitionibus, quas nobis per Prophetas et Apostolos suos Deus tradidit, fidem habens, ac sibi ipsi suisque concupiscentiis renunciatis, omne suum studium in praedicando nomine Iesu Christi et proximis aedificandis collocet.

Promissione facta nomen infanti imponitur; tum in eum aquam Baptismi Minister effundit, inquit:

N. Baptizo te in nomine Patris et Filii et Spiritus sancti.

Horum nihil nisi clara voce pronuntiatur linguaque patriae omnia nuncupantur: quippe quum multitudo, quae ad hoc mysterium assistit, testis esse debeat eorum, quae in eo fiunt: quam ad rem intelligentia necessaria est: quin etiam ut omnes magis magisque confirmentur, revocantes animum ad memoriam fructus et utilitatis sui Baptismi.

Neque vero ignoramus aliis in locis adhiberi alias ceremonias quamplurimas, quas vetustissimas esse minime diffitemur. Sed quoniam aut hominum arbitrio atque libidine aut certe levi aliqua de causa excogitatae sunt, denique quoniam sine verbo Dei fictae et inductae sunt, ac tam multae praeterea superstitiones inde manarunt, nobis sane sine ulla religione visum est eas tolli atque aboleri oportere, ut ne posthac cuiquam praecluderetur aditus ad Iesum Christum. Primum enim satis constat, quaecumque a Deo praescripta atque instituta non sunt, ea omnia libertati arbitrioque nostro relinqui; deinde, quicquid ad aedificationem confirmationemque pietatis non pertinet, id minime recipiendum esse in Ecclesiam; quod si in eam inductum esset, tollendum ac removendum esse. Quo magis id, quod nihil nisi scandalum et offensionem parit quasque idololatriae instrumentum quoddam est et communitiarum opinionum, nullo modo tolerandum est.

Atqui non dubium est quin luminaria, unguenta (quae Chri-

smata nominantur) aliaeque pompae generis eiusdem a Deo nunquam institutae sint, sed ab hominibus introductae, sensimque eo progressa superstilio sit, ut maiore in pretio atque honore haberentur quam ipsum Christi institutum. Illud profecto negari nullo modo potest, quin eam ipsam Baptismi formam ac rationem teneamus, quam et Christus praescripsit et Apostoli sequuti sunt, et vero etiam primaria et antiqua Ecclesia in more atque instituto habuerit; neque alio nomine culpari possumus, nisi quod Deum ipsum sapientia superare atque antecellere nolumus.

(b) *Ratio celebrandae Coenae Dominicae.*

Principio illud scire oportet, die Dominico qui proxime ei diei antecedit quo Coena celebranda est, prius hoc denunciari populo: primum ut se quisque ad eam digne recipiendam comparet, eaque reverentia, qua ratio postulat; tum ne pueri eo adducantur, nisi qui commode instituti fidemque suam in Ecclesia professi sint; tertio, ut, si forte advenae quidam et peregrini in urbe sint, nondum religionis disciplinae nostrae institutis imbuti, ii, si communicare S. Coenae velint, Ministros adeant, a quibus in privatis aedibus erudiantur. Quo die celebranda est, Minister ad finem concionis de ea commemorat, aut, si res postulare videatur, sermonem omnem in ea tractanda explicandaque consumit, ut populum doceat quid hoc mysterio Dominus designet ac significet, et qua ratione illud sit recipiendum. Absoluta precatione confessioneque fidei, ut multitudinis totius nomine Concionator testetur, velle omnes in doctrina religioneque Christiana vivere ac mori, clara et magna voce haec pronunciat:

Audite, qua ratione Iesus Christus sacrosanctam suam Coenam instituerit, sicuti Paulus memoriae tradidit capite undecimo prioris ad Corinthios Epistolae: Accepi, inquit, a Domino, quod et tradidi vobis, quod Dominus Iesus in ea nocte, qua traditus est, accepit panem, et postquam gratias egisset, fregit, ac dixit: Accipite, edite, hoc meum est corpus, quod pro vobis frangitur; hoc facite in mei commemorationem. Ad eundem modum et poculum peracta Coena, dicens: Hoc poculum novum Testamentum est in meo sanguine; hoc facite, quotiescunque biberitis, in mei commemorationem. Quotiescunque enim comederitis panem hunc, et poculum hoc biberitis, mortem Domini annunciabitis, donec venerit. Itaque quisquis ederit panem hunc aut biberit poculum Domini indigne, reus erit corporis et sanguinis Domini. Probet autem quisque seipsum, et sic de pane illo edat et de poculo bibat:

nam qui edit aut qui bibit indigne, iudicium sibi ipsi edit et bibit, non diiudicans corpus Domini.

Audivimus, fratres, quemadmodum Dominus Coenam suam una cum discipulis suis fecerit; ex quo quidem illud intelligi voluit, extraneos eosque, qui in suorum numerum recepti non sunt, minime esse admittendos. Quamobrem hanc ego regulam et praescriptionem sequutus, in nomine atque auctoritate Domini nostri Iesu Christi, hinc ego arceo ac repello, atque hoc sacrosancto mysterio interdico omnibus idolorum cultoribus, impie et contumeliose de Deo loquentibus, impiis et sceleratis hominibus, numenque contemnentibus, haereticis, iisque omnibus qui sectas haeresesque amplectuntur, quo vinculum et communionem Ecclesiae perfringant, periuros, contumaces in utrumque parentem, ac superiores, seditiosos, factiosos, sicarios, concitos ad rixam, adulteros, stupris, furtis, rapinae, avaritiae, vino, gulae ventrique deditos, quicumque vitae rationem sequuntur flagitiosam et offensiones ac scandala parientem, iisque palam denuncio, ut ab hoc sacrosancto convivio abstineant, ne sanctissimas epulas, quas Dominus solis suis domesticis et fidelibus paravit, foede polluant atque contaminent.

Itaque Pauli consilio atque cohortationi parens se quisque suamque conscientiam probet atque examinet, ac videat num vere se suorum scelorum poeniteat, atque ex iis dolorem animo maximum capiat, cupiens posthac vitam honeste ac sancte instituere, sed multo maxime, an fiduciam habeat in Dei misericordia fixam et positam, et in Christo Iesu suam salutem omni ex parte quaerat, omnibus inimiciis ac simultatibus nuncium remittens, nihilque aliud studens nisi ut posthac fraterna benevolentia et charitate proximos suos complectatur.

Quod si hoc studium in nobis esse nostra conscientia coram Deo testatur, ne dubitemus quin habeat nos in filiorum loco et numero, Dominusque noster Iesus Christus nos compellet atque ad convivium suum invitet sanctissimumque hoc Sacramentum nobis offerat, quod cum discipulis suis communicavit.

Et quanquam plurimum in nobis fragilitatis et miseriae sentimus, neque fide perfecta praediti sumus, sed in diffidentiam et incredulitatem propendimus, multumque abest ut tanto studio atque ardore animi Deo serviamus, quam ratio exigit, quin potius bellum nobis assidue adversus carnis nostrae concupiscentias gerendum est: quoniam tamen Dominus nobis benignitate sua concessit ut eius Evangelium in animis nostris impressum atque insculptum sit, quo incredulitati diffidentiae-

que resistamus, nobisque desiderium largitus est, cupiditatibus nostris renunciandi, quo iustitiam illius sanctissimasque leges et praeceptiones observemus : certum atque exploratum habeamus vitia omnia quae in nobis sunt minime obfutura quominus nos admittat dignosque reddat, qui spirituali hoc convivio participemus. Neque enim ob eam causam huc venimus, ut profiteamur nos integros et iustos esse in nobismetipsis, sed potius vitam nostram magno studio in Christo Iesu quacrentes fatemur nos in morte atque exitio versari. Teneamus igitur atque intelligamus, Sacramentum hoc morbo ac dolore affectis medicinam esse, dignitatemque omnem, quam a nobis Deus requirit, in eo versari, ut nosmetipsos quemadmodum recta ratio praescribit agnoscamus, doloremque maximum ac moerorem ex vitiis nostris capiamus, voluptatenique et laetitiam omnem in eo collocemus.

Primum igitur fidem habeamus promissis, quae Christus Iesus, veritas ipsa constans et firma, nobis ostendit : velle se videlicet vere nobiscum carnem et sanguinem suum communicare, ut eum totum atque integrum possideamus, ipseque in nobis vivat, et nos in illo. Et quamvis nihil nisi panem ac vinum videamus : minime tamen dubitemus quin spiritualiter in animis nostris id omne impleat ac perficiat, quod extrinsecus in his spectabilibus signis commonstrat : ipsum videlicet panem esse coelestem, qui nos alat ac nutriat ad vitam aeternam. Itaque ne in bonitatem infinitam Domini ingrati simus, qui in hac mensa divitias opesque suas omnes exponit, ut eas nobiscum communicet. Nobis enim sese largiens testificatur se quicquid habet in nos profundere. Quamobrem Sacramentum hoc tanquam pignus iustitiae ipsius recipiamus, quae nobis vi mortis ac supplicii illius imputabitur, nihilo secius quam si eo supplicio nosmetipsi affecti essemus. Ne igitur tam pervicaci ac perdita natura simus, ut tum fugiamus, quum Christus nos tam humaniter ac liberaliter suo verbo invitat. Sed muneris huius, quod nobis impertit, pretium ac dignitatem spectantes, ardenti studio ei nos offeramus, ut tam pretioso munere nos dignos reddat. Ob eamque causam animos ac mentes nostras sursum erigamus, ubi Christus est in gloria Patris, et unde eum nos ad redemptionem nostram expectamus. Neque vero animos in his terrenis et caducis elementis occupemus, quae et oculis cernimus et manibus tractamus, quasi eum ibi quaeramus, ut in pane vinoque inclusum. Tum enim animi nostri substantia eius ali ac nutriri poterunt, quum supra terrena omnia erecti ad coelos usque pertingent, ut in Regnum Dei,

ubi ipse habitat, ingrediantur. Satis ergo habeamus, si panis ac vinum nobis pro nota et signo dentur, veritatem in Spiritu investigantes, ubi Verbum divinum eam nos reperturos confirmat.

Ubi finem dicendi Concionator fecit, tum panem verbi Ministri, calicem vero Seniores Ecclesiae, qui morum censurae praesunt, populo distribuunt, prius commonitione facta ut honeste et decenter eo quisque adeat. Interea canitur Psalmus aliquis, aut locus Scripturae rei, quae Sacramento designatur, congruens atque conveniens clara et magna voce recitatur.

Ad extremum habentur gratiarum actiones, quas supra descripsimus.

Non ignoramus plerosque maiorem in modum offensos fuisse quod tam multa in hoc genere ab usu multis iam saeculis recepto aliena a nobis inducta sint. Quod enim Missa multos annos tanto in pretio habita est, ut omnes eam existimarint disciplinae religionisque Christianae caput esse, non dubitamus quamplurimos mirari quod eam plane ac funditus tollendam curavimus. Eamque ob rem quibus consilii nostri ratio minus perspecta est, ii sublata a nobis fuisse Sacramenta existimant. Verum si quis instituti nostri rationem diligentius perpendat, is sine dubio intelliget restituta potius atque in usum relata a nobis fuisse. Quod ut perspicui a quovis possit, consideretur quanta inter Missam et Christi institutionem similitudo sit. Quis non videt non minus inter utramque quam inter lucem et tenebras interesse? Tametsi non est hoc quidem loco propositi institutique nostri copiosius hanc disputationem persequi. Verum ut iis satisfaceremus qui per ignorantiam eo nomine offendi possent, operae pretium nobis visum est nonnihil obiter de ea re commemorare. Quum enim Sacramentum Domini tam multis corruptelis ac vitiis inquinatum ac foedatum esse videremus: ut hisce malis remedium adhiberemus, necesse habuimus multa immutare quae perperam ac vitiose introducta fuerant, certe in perversum ac praeposterum usum detorta. Quod quo rectius faceremus, quae tandem potius sequenda esse ratio videbatur quam si ad purum et incorruptum Christi institutum rem omnem revocaremus? quod sane religiose ac bona fide (quemadmodum satis intelligi licet) sequuti sumus. Haec enim ipsa emendatio est quam nobis Paulus praescipsit.

No. 306. Calvin reviews his labours, 1542.

From a letter to (?) Sebastian Munster at Basel, Jan. 1542.—
Ut de rebus meis aliquid tibi referam, ne tantum ex auditu scias,

hic partim in restituendis rebus collapsis, partim in conservando qualicunque statu non leviter exerceor. Dum me Comitia morantur, Bernates Viretum nostris velut precario dederant usque ad meum adventum. Is mihi non parum quidem levationis attulerat: efficere tamen non potuerat quin omnia adhuc essent difficillima. Cum reposceretur,¹ obtinui² ut mihi prorogaretur tempus ad sex menses. Eius opera, consilio, fide, studio adiutus utcunque in meliorem formam restitui quae vel prorsus eversa vel fracta, lacerata ac dissipata erant.

Principio hinc fuit inchoandum, ut leges ecclesiasticae scribebantur. Nobis adiuncti sunt sex e Senatu qui eas conciperent. Intra viginti dies formulam composuimus, non illam quidem satis absolutam, sed pro temporis infirmitate tolerabilem. Ea suffragiis populi recepta fuit. Constitutum deinde Iudicium quod morum censuram exerceat ac ecclesiae ordini servando invigilet. Volui enim, sicut aequum est, spiritualem potestatem a civili iudicio distingui. Ita in usum rediit excommunicatio.³ Quoniam pestis in Germania saeviebat et altera ex parte bellum, feci ut supplicationes extraordinariae decernerentur. Precationes quibus in iis uteremur conscripsi.⁴ Ad haec ut in Sacramentorum administratione amplior ac luculentior haberetur explicatio, novas formulas⁵ addidi. Tandem veni ad Catechismum,⁶ in quo scribendo Dominum mihi adfuisse confido. Paucorum dierum sunt istae lucubrationes, fateor: sed inter tot avocamenta, quibus subinde huc illuc abripior, nullus labor non difficilis. Non enim memini ex quo hic sum, duas horas sine interpellatione mihi datas esse. Adde quod *Institutionem* latinam absolvere oportuit, in qua, postquam exierit, videbis me non leviter sudasse. . . .

XVIII

THE DISCIPLINE IN GENEVA, 1542-64

The task of Calvin henceforward was to maintain the Discipline which he had set up. Six years of (i) consolidation, six of (ii) conflict, and ten of (iii) dominance, established it before his death.

(i) From 1542-8 the Discipline was consolidated. On 16 Feb. 1542 [No. 307] the Consistory held its tenth meeting,—the first of which minutes exist (*Opera*, xxi. [= *C. R.* xlix.] 291),—and, 1542-3,

¹ sc. by Lausanne, Dec. 1541, of Bern; cf. Herminjard, vii, No. 1076, n. 22.

² sc. from Bern, on 7 Jan. 1542. *Ibid.* vii, No. 1090, n. 3.

³ In July 1537 the magistrates of Geneva had abolished excommunication in favour of banishment (Herminjard, vii, No. 1090, n. 7).

⁴ In *La Forme des prières*, &c., *Opera*, vi. [= *C. R.* xxxiv.] 180 sqq.

⁵ Cf. *Opera*, vi. [= *C. R.* xxxiv.] 185 sqq.

⁶ *Ibid.* vi. 189q.

Calvin was absent only five times (*ibid.*). Taking cognisance of things small (*ibid.* 296: 25 May 1542) and great (*ibid.* 301, 307: 17 Aug. 1542, 25 Jan. 1543), it confined itself to admonition (*ibid.* 292: 16 March 1542), remonstrance (*ibid.* 309: 22 March 1543), spiritual discipline (*ibid.* 306: 21 Dec. 1542), and excommunication (*ibid.* 292, sq.: 30 March, 4 April 1542). But it reported at discretion to the Magistrates (*ibid.* 306: 11 Jan. 1543), and they enforced its decision by the secular arm (*ibid.* 382 sq.: 17 and 18 June 1546). At Easter, 25 March 1543, the contest began between Council (*ibid.* 309) and Consistory, for [No. 308] the right of excommunication, but Calvin parried the attack for the time (Herminjard, viii, No. 1213); and, in spite of the return of the Artichauds consequent upon the peace with Bern which was ratified 19 Feb. 1544 (*Opera*, xi. [= C. R. xxxix.] 677, n. 3; cf. Ruchat, v. 240, and Dunant, *Relations*, &c., 86) by Geneva, he was strong enough to reduce opponents one after another. Thus on 12 June 1544 [No. 309] **Sebastian Castellio**, 1515-163, Rector since 5 April 1542 (*Opera*, xxi. [= C. R. xlix.] 294) of the School was 'dismissed from the ministry' (*ibid.* 338) for questioning the integrity of the Old Testament and the Genevan interpretation of the Apostles' Creed (Herminjard, ix, No. 1328). On 8 April 1546 [No. 310] **Pierre Ameaux**, a member of the Little Council, was ordered to do penance (*Opera*, xxi. [= C. R. xlix.] 367) for insulting Calvin and impugning his authority as interpreter of the Word of God (*Opera*, xii. [= C. R. xl.] 284). On 24 June 1547 [No. 311] **Franchequine Perrin**, wife of the Captain-General, was condemned to imprisonment for dancing and for her scolding tongue (*ibid.* xii. [= C. R. xl.] 334, 345: xxi. [= C. R. xlix.] 407, 413). On 26 July 1547 [No. 312] **Jacques Gruet**, a free-thinker (*Opera*, xiii. [= C. R. xli.] 566-72) who, 27 June, had affixed to the pulpit a placard threatening Calvin (*ibid.* xxi. [= C. R. xlix.] 407), was beheaded (*ibid.* xii. [= C. R. xl.] 546, 563-8).

(ii) But now came six years of conflict, 1548-54. The elections of 5 Feb. 1548 (*ibid.* xxi. [= C. R. xlix.] 421) issued, as Calvin had expected (*Ep.* 989; *Opera*, xii. [= C. R. xl.] 653), in a balance of parties among the Syndics: and by next year when, 10 Feb. 1549, the Captain-General, Ami Perrin, became Syndic (*ibid.* xxi. [= C. R. xlix.] 445), a reaction set in. The persecutions which followed upon the accession of Henry II. of France, 1547-159, sent refugees to Geneva—as many as 1376 between 1549-54. In 'a little republic of not over 13,000 inhabitants of whom [not more than] 1000 to 1500 were citizens capable of voting in the primary assembly' (H. D. Foster, *Harvard Theological Review*, I. iv. 401: Oct. 1908) such an influx was disturbing. The Perrinists, 19 Jan. 1551, proposed a residence of twenty-five years before the admission of aliens to citizenship (*Opera*, xxi. [= C. R. xlix.] 472): for their presence was a support to Calvin. But, 15 May and 16 Oct. 1551, one of them [No. 313], **Jérôme Hermès Bolsec**, ?-1584, impugned his credit for orthodoxy both at home (*ibid.* xxi. [= C. R. xlix.] 481, 9; *Ep.* 1540, *ibid.* xiv. [= C. R. xlii.] 191, and 'Actes du

Procès' in *ibid.* viii. [= *C. R.* xxxvi.] 141 sqq.): and, with the Reformed of German Switzerland, Zürich (*Opera*, viii. [= *C. R.* xxxvi.] 229), Basel (*ibid.* 234 sq.) and Bern (*ibid.* 238 sqq.), cf. *Epp.* 1564, 1571: *ibid.* xiv. [= *C. R.* xlii.] 213, 218; *Epp.* 2176: *ibid.* xv. [= *C. R.* xliii.] 549). It was barely recovered by, 23 Dec., the banishment of Bolsec (*ibid.* viii. [= *C. R.* xxxvi.] 247: xxi. [= *C. R.* xlix.] 498); by, 1 Jan. 1552, the [No. 314] *De aeterna Dei praedestinatione* (*ibid.* viii. [= *C. R.* xxxvi.] 249 sqq.) or *Consensus Genevensis* (Niemeyer, *Coll. Conf.* 218 sqq.); and by a vote of the Little Council, 9 Nov. 1552, that his doctrine was 'holy' (*Opera*, xxi. [= *C. R.* xlix.] 524 sq.). Next year came, 5 Feb. 1553 (*ibid.* 535), a sweeping Perrinist victory at the polls: but also, 27 Oct. [No. 315], the burning of Michael Servetus, 1511-†53 (*ibid.* xxi. [= *C. R.* xlix.] 557). Since the appearance, 1531, of Servetus' *De Trinitatis Erroribus*, Servetus and Calvin (cf. N. Weiss, in *Bulletin de la Société de l'histoire du Protestantisme Français*, Sept.-Oct. 1908, 387 sqq.) had marked each other down (cf. p. 522, *supra*) for extinction. They had corresponded in 1539-41 (*Opera*, viii. [= *C. R.* xxxvi.] 482), and again in 1546-7 (*ibid.* 833; xii. [= *C. R.* xl.] 283); and, at length, Servetus not only sent Calvin his *Christianismi Restitutio* to oust the *Christianae Religiois Institutio*, but, knowing what awaited him (*ibid.* viii. [= *C. R.* xxxvi.] 751), came to Geneva. He was arrested 13 Aug. 1553 (*ibid.* 725); and his execution restored Calvin's hold there. For Calvin and his age were at one in the way they would deal with such opinions; and even Melancthon wrote that it was 'justly done' (*ibid.* xv. [= *C. R.* xliii.] 268).

(iii) For the last ten years, 1554-64, Calvin was dominant. His dominance was aided by the victory of St. Quentin, 10 Aug. 1557, which had the effect of uniting Bern and Geneva through fear of Savoy, and so of depriving the Perrinists of Bernese support. (Dunant, 206 sqq.). The elections of 4 Feb. 1554 (*ibid.* xxi. [= *C. R.* xlix.] 568) gave him three out of the four Syndics: and, 24 Jan. 1555 (*ibid.* 593 sq.), the long-disputed [No. 316] **right of the Consistory to excommunicate** (*Epp.* 2120: *ibid.* xv. [= *C. R.* xliii.] 449) was conceded. Next month, 10 Feb. (*ibid.* xxi. [= *C. R.* xlix.] 594) all four Syndics were of his party. They proceeded at once by banishment and executions (*ibid.* 608 sq., 611 sq., 613 sq.) to wipe out their opponents; and, at the same time, to strengthen themselves by the enfranchisement of refugees (*ibid.* xv. [= *C. R.* xliii.] 678 sq.). Between 1549-59, 5017 new citizens were thus admitted (Doumergue, *Calvin*, iii. 74): and from them, 22 May 1559 (*Op.* xxi. [= *C. R.* xlix.] 716), professors were furnished for [No. 317] **the University of Geneva**. Inaugurated 5 June 1559 (*ibid.* xa [= *C. R.* xxxviii.] 65 sqq.) with Calvin's successor, Theodore Beza, 1519-†1605, as Rector, it made Geneva the intellectual and the missionary centre of the Reformed. By 4 May 1564 there were 1200 junior and 300 senior students on its books (Borgeaud, *Histoire de l'Université de Genève*, i. 63). On 27 May 1564, after a [No. 318] **farewell to the ministers of Geneva** (Bonnet, *Lettres de Calvin*, ii. 573 sqq.) Calvin died.

No. 307. The Consistory.

16 March 1542.—Antoine Simon de Vienne excoffier, demourant sur le Pont du Rosne. S'il est marié et si az des enfans? Respond qu'il est marié et qu'il a ung enfant. S'il vatz au sermon? Respond que ouy quelque foys quand il peult, que son filz n'a que troys ans, et ne le scauroyt encore entendre. Interrogué de sa foy et créance, respond qu'il ne l'entend pas bien. A ditz l'orayson Dominicale: ne scayt dire la Confession. . . . On lui fait les ammonitions honnestes de hanter les sermons plus souvent, qu'il face qu'il soyt instruit à dire sa Confession &c.

30 March 1542.—La dona Jane Petreman a esté interrogué de sa foy et qu'elle n'a receu la sainte Cène et vat aux Messes. A ditz sa foy et croy en ung Dieu et veult venir en Dieu et sainte Église et n'a aultre foy. A ditz son Pater en langue romayne et qu'elle croy ainsi que l'Église croyt. . . . Interrogué pourquoy elle ne se contente point de la Cène en ceste ville célébrée mais vaz aultre part? Respond qu'elle vaz ou il luy semble bon. . . . Az esté remise comme hors la foy et a soy comparoistre de jour en jour et n'a pas voulu renonser à la Messe.

25 May 1542.—Aymon Peronet, le gagne-denier, a esté demandé à cause de certains medicamens et guérir beaucoup de malades et certaines parolles charmeuses qui sont deffendues de Dieu et quelles parolles il use en ses affaires et s'il veult vivre selon la Réformation? Respond de rompures de loyers ainsi que son père faisoit qu'il ne se ayde point de brevets ni parolles charmées, et qu'il faict d'emplastres de poys, cire, beurre cuyte et fond tout ensemble et fait ses emplastres: aulcunes foys demouré à Lyon . . . et hante aulcunes foys en ceste ville, et n'use d'aulcunes parolles sinon qu'il dit tousjours 'Au nom du Père et du Filz' et dit qu'il veult vivre selon le Seigneur et les Seigneurs de son pays et qu'il vit selon le lieu ou il se trouve. Interrogué s'il vaz aux sermons, ditz que ouy et n'a pas pris la Cène, car il n'a pas esté ici, *etc.*

25 Jan. 1543.—Fauldra mettre ordre aux estuves de la séparation des hommes et des femmes, aussi des serviteurs et chambrrières.

17 June 1546.—*Consistoire.* Gaspard Fayre auquel furent faictes remonstrances pourquoy y a longtems que Messieurs Pavoyent renvoyé ici sans qu'il ne az comparutz à cause qu'il futz trové joyant près S. Gervays en ung jardin, et interrogué si

l'assemblée des crestiens estoit là, ditz que ouy. Luy ont esté faictes remonstrances qu'il ne fault pas laisser la congrégation des fideles. Pour ce que il luy futz deffendu la Cène. Ditz qu'il ne pense point avoir offensé Dieu pour cela. Interrogué s'il ne scait pas de la rébellion qu'il fitz ici disant qu'il ne respondroit point à M. Calvin? que se conste: a respondu que ce qu'il dit, il le fetz mettre en escript. Alors que luy ont esté faictes remonstrances a ditz parolles fort rébellieuses, et M. Calvin luy a dit: Nous sommes ici par dessus vous. A respondu il sé très bien ouy par sus tous. Alors M. Calvin, suyvant ses rébellions, est sorti, disant: Comme ce passoit, il quittoyt le Consistoyre. Advis qu'il soit remis devant Messieurs, et le Consistoyre se présente tous se démettant du Consistoyre jusques à ce qu'il soyt faicte telle punition qu'il appartient.

18 June 1546.—[Reg. du Conseil.] M. Calvin et les Seigneurs du Consistoyre contre Gaspard Favre. Lesqueulx hont rapporté comme ilz feust appellé G. Favre pour luy fère les remonstrances de ses fautes, et ainsi qui feust appeller sans pourter honneur ny révérence au dit Consistoyre, ains avoit son manteault en excherpe dessoubt son bras et en grande arrogance profferait plusieurs parolles à savoir que ne respondroyt point à M. Calvin et qui ne le cognoist point mes qui responderoyt seulement à M. le Seindicque et aussi a Messieurs les citoyens. . . . Ordonné que il soyt mener en prison, en une chambre appart à l'ordinaire du carcerier sans que personne parle à luy et soyt ballier les indices au S^r lieutenant pour le faire respondre comme appartient.

No. 308. The right of excommunication contested, Easter 1543.

19 March 1543.—*Conseil des Soixante.* Icy ha esté exposé voyer si le Consistoire aura puyssance de deffendre aut non colpables de non recepvoyer la sainte Cène de N. S. ou non. Surquoy résoluz que le Consistoire ne aye nulle juridiction ny puyssance de deffendre, synon seulement admonester, et puy fère relation en Conseil affin que la Seigneurie advise de juger sus les delinquans selon leur démerite.

24 March 1543.—*Calvin to Viret.* Nuper disceptionem habuimus cum Senatu: sed quae statim fuit composita. Renuntiaverat nobis Syndicus in Consistorio, Senatum ius excommunicandi sibi retinuisse. Continuo excepi decretum hoc aut morte mea aut exilio sanciri oportere. Postridie vocavi fratres: ex eorum consilio postulavi a Syndicis, ut Senatum nobis extra

ordinem darent : annuerunt, etsi non libenter. Illic longa et gravi oratione de tota re disserui : obtinui nullo negotio quod petebam. . . .

No. 309. Castellio, 12 June 1544.

(a) *From a letter of Calvin to Viret, 11 Feb. 1544.*—Sebastianus ad vos¹ cum literis nostris² proficiscitur. Utinam aut ipse sibi melius consuleret, aut nobis aliqua esset ratio, qua possemus illi sine Ecclesiae incommodo consulere. Cum illi pristina conditio integra per nos maneret, manere in ea recusavit, nisi aliquid ad stipendium adderetur.³ Hoc a Senatu non potuit impetrari. Mihi satius videbatur causam cur ad ministerium non admitteretur⁴ subticere aut subindicare esse aliquid impedi- menti, et tamen simul obviam ire pravis suspicionibus : ut illi sua existimatio salva constaret. Eo spectabant mea consilia ut illi parcerem. Quod libenter facturus eram (quanquam non absque invidia) si ipse passus fuisset. Causa igitur, eo postu- lante, agitata est in Senatu, sed citra contentionem. Me vehe- menter eius miseret, eoque magis quod vereor ne illic⁵ non reperiat quod cupit. Vos, quoad poteritis, illi prospicite. Quale de me iudicium habeat, nihil moror. . . .

(b) *From the letters testimonial of the ministers of Geneva to Seb. Castellio.*—Cum Sebastianus Castalio scholae nostrae hac- tenus prae fuisset, missionem petiit a Senatu ac impetravit. Ista enim lege susceperat hanc provinciam, ut sibi integrum foret eam relinquere, si post aliquod temporis spatium nimis sibi

¹ sc. the ministers of Lausanne.

² sc. the certificate, given below.

³ Cf. *Reg. du Conseil*, 14 Jan. 1544.—'Sur ce que M. Calvin a rappourter que M^e Bastian est bien scavant home, mès qu'il ast quelque opignon dont n'est capable pour le ministère et en oultre ce lamente de son gage de l'escole ; et sur ce ordonné de luy dire qu'il ce [se] aye à contenter . . . de son gage . . .' (*Opera*, xxi. [C. R. xlix.] 328).

⁴ Cf. *Reg. du Conseil*, 28 Jan. 1544.—'M. Calvin et M^e Bastian Chastillion. Sur ce que entre eulx sont en dubie sus l'approbation du livre de Salomon lequel M. Calvin approve saint et ledit Bastian le répudie, disant que quant il fist le capistre septième [du Cantique] il estoit en folie et conduyet par mondaïenetés et non pas du Saint Esperit. Et sur ce hont demandé ledit S^r Calvin estre aoy en dispute, et davantage ledit S^r Bastian a diest qu'il layse tel livre pour tel qu'il est. Et quant au passage du Symbole là où diest que Jhésus descendit aux enfers, il n'est pas encore fort résoluz, approuvant toutesfois la Doctrine estre de Dieu et sainte. Et sur ce ordonné que entre eulx secrètement ayent à fère dispute, sans publier telles choses' (*Opera*, xxi. [C. R. xlix.] 329).

⁵ sc. at Basel. He hoped to find employment there as teacher or prof- reader.

incommodam esse ac gravem expertus foret. Nunc quoniam alio migrare habebat in animo, testimonium a nobis petit anteactae vitae, quod illi non esse denegandum censuimus. Hoc ergo breviter testamur, talem fuisse a nobis habitum, ut nostro omnium consensu iam ad munus pastorale destinatus esset, nisi obstitisset una causa. Nam cum ex more inquiremus, num in tota doctrinae summa inter nos et illum conveniret, duo esse respondit in quibus non posset nobiscum sentire: quod Salomonis Canticum sacris libris adscriberemus, et quod descensum Christi ad inferos acciperemus in Catechismo¹ pro eo quem sustinuit conscientiae horrore, cum pro nobis sisteret se ad Dei tribunal, ut peccata nostra, poenam ac maledictionem in se transferendo, sua morte expiaret. . . .

. . . Verum praecipuum nobis certamen de Cantico fuit. Existimat enim lascivum et obscenum esse carmen, quo Salomo impudicos suos amores descripsit. Principio obtestati eum sumus, ut ne perpetuum universae Ecclesiae consensum temere pro nihilo duceret. Nullum dubiae fidei librum esse, de quo non fuerit mota olim et agitata aliqua disceptatio. Quin etiam ex iis quibus certam auctoritatem nunc deferimus, quosdam non fuisse initio absque controversia receptos: hunc a nemine palam fuisse unquam repudiatum. Obtestati quoque sumus ne suo iudicio plus aequo arrogaret: praesertim cum nihil proponeret quod non omnes ante eum natum vidissent. Quod argumentum attinet, admonuimus formam esse epithalamii, alteri non absimilem quae Ps. xlv habetur. Nec omnino quicquam interesse, nisi quod quae hic in genere breviter dicuntur, fusius et quasi minutatim explicantur in Cantico. Decantari enim in Psalmo Salomonis pulchritudinem et sponsae ornatum, ita ut res respondeat, discrimen in sola dictionis figura esse.

Cum haec nullius apud eum momenti essent, consultavimus inter nos quidnam opus esset facto. Una omnium sententia fuit periculosum et mali exempli fore, si ad ministerium cum hac conditione admitteretur. Bonos enim primum non leviter offensum iri, si audiant ministrum esse a nobis creatum, qui librum quem in sacrorum librorum catalogo habeant omnes ecclesiae, respuere se ac damnare palam profiteatur. Malis et improbis qui et infamandi Evangelii et huius Ecclesiae laceranda occasionem captant, ita fenestram per nos apertum iri. Postremo, hac lege nos obstrictum iri in posterum ne cui alteri

¹ Cf. Rilliet et Dufour, *Catéchisme de Calvin*, 53; and *Opera*, vi. [= C. R. xxxiv.] 30.

vitio vertamus, si aut Ecclesiasten, aut Proverbia, aut unumquemque librum ex reliquis repudiet : nisi forte in hoc certamen descendere libeat, quis Spiritu Sancto dignus sit aut indignus. Ne quis ergo aliud quidpiam causae esse suspicetur, cur a nobis discedat Sebastianus, hoc quocunque venerit testatum esse volumus : Scholae magisterio sponte se abdicavit. In eo ita se gesserat ut sacro hoc ministerio dignum iudicaremus. Quominus autem receptus fuerit, non aliqua vitae macula, non impium aliquod in fidei nostrae capitibus dogma, sed haec una quam exposuimus causa obstitit.

Ministri Ecclesiae Genevensis. Io. Calvinus omnium nomine ac mandato subscripsi.

(c) *From Reg. du Conseil, 12 June 1544.*—... Et dempuy a esté advisé et ordonné que d'autant M^e Bastian n'ha procéder ainsyn qu'il debvoyt, et que quant remonstrances et correction ce font les ungs envers les aultres l'on doybd procéder aultrement qu'il n'ha fayct et qu'il n'ha suffizamment justifié ses proposités : trouvons havoyer mal procéder et mal parler et soit demys du ministère jusques à la bone volonté de la Seigneurie. Laquelle ordonnance, présent les six ministres¹ et le dit M^e Bastian, a esté prononcé. . . .

No. 310. Pierre Ameaux, 8 April 1546.

(a) *From Reg. du Conseil, 27 Jan. 1546.*—L'on a revellé que Ameaulx a diest² que M. Calvin estoit meschant homme et n'estoit que un picard et preschoyt faulce doctrine et que ainsin le volloit mentenyr comment plus amplement est contenuz en les informations sur ce prinses. Ordonné qu'il soyt constitué prisonnier et que en après l'on le forme son prossès.

(b) *From a letter of Calvin to Farel, 13 Feb. 1546.*—Iam elapsi sunt ultra quindecim dies ex quo cartularius³ in carcere tenetur, propterea quod tanta protervia domi suae inter coenandum adversum me debacchatus est, ut constet non fuisse tunc mentis compotem. Ego dissimulanter tuli, nisi quod testatus sum iudicibus mihi nequaquam gratum fore, si cum eo summo iure agerent. Volui eum invisere. Senatus decreto prohibitus fuit aditus. Et tamen boni quidam viri scilicet me crudelitatis insimulant, quod tam pertinaciter meas iniurias

¹ Sc. of Geneva : Calvin, Aimé Champereaux, in office at Calvin's return, and four Frenchmen, Matthieu de Geneston, Philippe de l'Eglise, Abel Poupin, and Jean Ferron, who arrived 1542-3.

² The night before, at supper.

³ Ameaux was a manufacturer of playing cards.

uleiscar. Rogatus sum ab eius amicis ut deprecatoris partes susciperem. Facturum me negavi, nisi his duabus exceptionibus, ne qua suspicio in me resideret atque ut Christi honor maneret salvus. Iam defunctus sum. Exspecto quid Senatus pronunciet. . . .

(c) *From Reg. du Conseil, 8 April 1546.*—Ayans vheu le contenuz de ces responces, par lesquelle nous appert que il [Ameaux] a meschamment parlé contre Dieu, le Magestral et M. Calvin ministre &c., comment amplement est contenus en ces responces: Ordonné qu'i[1] soyt condamné à debvoyer fere le tour à la ville en chemise, teste nue, une torche allumée en sa maien et dempuys devant le tribunal venyr crie mercy à Dieu et à la justice, les genoulx à terre, confessant avoyer mal parlé, le condamnant aussy à tous despens et que la sentence soyt proféré publiquement.

No. 311. Madame Perrin, 24 June 1547.

(a) *From a letter of Calvin to Viret & Farel, 15-20 April 1546.*—A discussu vestro¹ choreae nobis plus exhibuerunt negotii quam putaveram. Omnes ii qui interfuerant vocati ad Consistorium, duobus exceptis Corneo et Perrino, impudenter Deo et nobis mentiti sunt.² Excandui, ut rei indignitas postulabat, et graviter in illum Dei contemptum invecus sum, quod pro nihilo ducerent sanctas obtestationes, quibus usi fueramus, ludibrio habere. Perstiterunt in sua contumacia. Ego quum res mihi comperta esset, nihil aliud poteram quam Deum testari poenas tantae perfidiae daturus: simul tamen denunciavi me vel propriae vitae dispendio facturum, ut veritas patefieret, ne quid se lucrifecisse mentiendo putarent. Francisca³ etiam Perrini graviter conviciata est nobis, quod adeo infesti essemus Fabris. Respondi ut visum fuit atque ut merebatur. Rogavi numquid sacrosancta esset domus, numquid legibus soluta? Patrem enim iam unius adulterii convictum tenebamus: alterius probatio prope ad manum erat: de tertio magnus erat rumor: frater Senatum et nos palam contempserat ac deriserat: tandem adieci fabricandam illis

¹ They had both been at Geneva, April 1547.

² Amblard Corne, the Syndic and president of the Consistory, and Ami Perrin the Captain-General, were among the guests who danced at a wedding on 21 March 1546. So too was Jacques Gruet, but he tried to get off by lying.

³ Madame Perrin was daughter of François and sister of Gaspard Favre. She broke out at Calvin: 'Méchant homme, vous voulez boire le sang de notre famille, mais vous sortirez de Genève avant nous!'

esse novam urbem, in qua seorsum viverent, nisi vellent nobiscum hic sub Christi iugo contineri: quamdiu Genevae essent, eos frustra niti ne legibus parerent. Nam si tot essent diademata in domo Fabrorum, quot sunt rabiosa capita, id non fore impedimento quin Dominus foret superior. Maritus Lugdunum interea concesserat, sperans rem tacite sepultum iri. Censui, ut iureiurando ad veri confessionem adigerentur. Corneus illos monuit, se nequaquam passurum ut peierarent. Non modo confessi sunt quod volebamus, sed se eo die saltasse apud Balthazaris [Sept] viduam. Omnes in carcerem coniecti: Syndicus insigne moderationis exemplum fuit.¹ Nam in se et totum gregem severius est concionatus, quam ut oportuerit cum eo multa verba facere. Admonitus tamen graviter fuit in Consistorio, loco suo deiectus donec poenitentiae testimonium edidisset. Perrinum Lugduno reversum aiunt: quidquid agat, poenam non effugiet.² . . .

(b) *From a letter of Calvin to Viret, 2 July 1547.*—Nunc serio nobis certandum est. Vocata rursus ad Consistorium fuerat uxor comici Caesaris ob suam petulantiam.³ Illic ne asperiore quidem verbo lacessita plus veneni evomuit quam unquam antea. Primum negavit, si quid deliquisset, nostri fori esse cognitionem. Deinde conquesta est sibi gravem ignominiae notam inuri, quod in eum locum venire cogeretur, quo nonnisi sceleratos et maleficos accersi fas esset. Quum ex assessoribus unus cohibere intemperiem vellet, in eum furorem convertit. Hic quum se Abel [Poupin] interponeret, ac diceret mirari se quod initio professus esset adeo se verecundam aut elinguem quae respondere pluribus non posset, quum par futura esset quam plurimis maledicendo, tota vero rabies efferbuit. Imo vero, inquit, tu conviciator, qui patri meo nequiter conviciatus es. *Va, gros pouacre*⁴, *tu as mérité meschamment*. Nisi vi extrusa esset, fere nos obruisset suis fulminibus. Senatus decrevit ut in carcerem arctiorem includeretur. Elapsa est opera matronae illius quae malas omnes causas suscipere in suum patrocinium solet. Alter ex filiis se comitem fugitivae adiungit.⁵ Quum non procul a porta urbis forte in Abelem incidisset, novi insultus, et quidem proterviores.

¹ Cf. 'Ledit S^r Sindique a respondu en remerciant les bonnes ammonicions tant selon Dieu que selon les editz des Seigneurs'.—*Reg. du Consistoire*, 15 April 1546 (*Opera*, xxi. [= C. R. xlix.] 378).

² Perrin apologized also, 13 May 1546 (*ibid.* 381).

³ 23 June 1547 (cf. *Opera*, xxi. [= C. R. xlix.] 407, and Ruchat, v. 317).

⁴ Pouacre = sale, villain (Littre); groin de porc (Roget).

⁵ To her father, François Favre, at Beguy, belonging to Bern.

Abel nihil: quemadmodum et in Consistorio moderatissime se gesserat. Postridie¹ reperitur charta in suggestu qua mortem nobis minantur, nisi sileamus. Exemplar ad te mitto.² Senatus tanta audacia percussus iubet severe de conspiratione inquiri. Negotium paucis mandat. Quia multorum suspicio in Gruetum cadebat, statim arripitur. Alia tamen erat manus. . .

(c) *From Reg. du Conseil, 24 June 1547.*—Les ministres et le Consistoire ce sont grandement lamentés de la femme du Sr Amyed Perrin; et, en luy faissant aulcunes bonnes remonstrances à cause de ce qu'elle a dancée, icelle a oltragé M^e Abel, ministre, l'appellant 'puacre' et aultres plusieurs parolles sinistres: requerant il mectre ordre. Ordonné qu'elle soyt constitué prisonnyère, et que Jehan Blanguet aye la commission des prisons pendant qu'elle sera tenue prisonnyère à cause que le souldan est domestique de la mayson dudit Perrin. . .

No. 312. Jacques Gruet, 26 July 1547.

(a) *From Calvin's letter to Viret, 2 July 1547.*—Alia tamen erat manus. Sed dum eius chartas revolvunt, multa reperiunt non minus capitalia: libellus supplex quem offerre populo statuerat in comitiis, ubi disputabat nihil esse legibus vindicandum nisi quod rempublicam laederet. Ita enim Venetos facere, gubernandi peritissimos. Periculum vero esse ne, dum haec urbs unius hominis melancholici cerebro obtemperat, excitata seditione perdat mille cives. Repertae sunt etiam litterae, partim ad Andream Philippum, partim ad alios scriptae. Quibusdam nomen nominabat. Alias involverat figuris, quae tamen crassum artificium adeo sapiunt ut digitis attingere liceat quicquid tegere voluit. Paginae etiam duae compositae latina lingua, ubi ridetur tota Scriptura, laceratur Christus, immortalitas animae vocatur somnium et fabula, denique tota religio convellitur.

(b) *Procès de Jacques Gruet.*

(a) *From a letter of his to the Council of Geneva, July 1547.*— . . Ne vous reiglés par le dire ny par la volonté

¹ 27 June (cf. *Opera*, xxi. [= C. R. xlix.] 407).

² Given in the dialect of Geneva in *Opera*, xii. [= C. R. xl.] 546, n. 8, and translated in Ruchat, v. 318. — 'Qu'on ne veut pas avoir tant de maîtres: qu'ils avaient jusques alors assez censuré: que des prêtres reniés, comme eux n'avaient que faire de désoler ainsi le monde: que s'ils continuent, on les mettra en tel lieu qu'ils maudiront l'heure qu'ils sont sortis de leur moierie, et qu'ils prennent garde qu'on ne leur en fasse autant qu'à M. Vernly de Fribourg.'

d'ung home. Cart vous voyés que les hommes ont plusieurs et diverses oppinion en eulx! chascun à part soitouldroit estre gouverné à sa guise . . . Saygesouldroient que chascun fut tel que eux: mais il n'est possible, et souventesfoys l'oppyinion d'ung homme seul causa beaucoup de maulx . . . S'il y a ung personnage qui soit saturnin de soyt mesme, il désire, s'il az la puissance, qu'un chascun soit saturnin comme luy. . . Et s'il az ceste preheminance et auctorité, ilouldra que son naturel soit mys en exequution. Au contraire, ung qui sera joyeux, demandera plaisir et esbartz. Lequel des deux a meilleure nature en luy? Chascun veult mentenir la syenne estre mellieure a l'autre indifférente.

Pourquoy me semble, pour appaiser toutes ses contrariétés, que une seigneurie doit faire ung estat tel qu'il n'y aye nul discort d'approuver la subjection d'ung peuple pour une chose contre nature. Il n'y a nulle roy ou régyme d'une Respublique, se est que il ne soit permis à homme faire ce qu'il neouldroit luy fut fait. Exemple d'ung que murtre ung aultre. . . Brief, toute personne qui contrarie à l'autre par meschant vouloir mérite punicion.

Mais se je suis ung homme veulant menger mon bien à quelle guise qu'il me plaira, que doit avoir affaire l'autre que ce az ny voyre nycognoistre? ou si je veulx dancier, saulter, mener joyeuse vie, que az affaire la justice? Rien. Cart alcune fois la trop rude justice engendre plusieurs machinations, que cause que ung homme soit peut estre cause de plusieurs maux et perdicion de mille hommes, comme nous voyons par expérience et bourbe de nostre temps que une vindication causa tant de maux en France. . . .

(*β*) *Sentence*. Nous Syndicques et juges des causes criminelles de ceste cité de Genève ayans vheuz le prossès¹ . . . contre toy Jaque Gruet . . . et tes responces¹ . . . par lesquelles nous conste et appert avoyer grandement offencé et blasphemé Dieu, contrevenant à sa sainte Parolle et aussy avoyer perpetré chose contre le Majestrat, oultragé, menassé et mesdict des serviteurs de Dieu et comys crime de lèze majesté, méritant pugnition corporelle . . . toy Jaque Gruet condampnons à debvoyr estre mené au lieu de Champel et illect debvoyr avoyer tranché la teste de dessus les espaulles, et ton corps attaché aut gibet et ta teste cloyé en icelluy et ainsi finiras tes jours pour donner exemple aux aultres qui tel casouldroyent commestre. . . .

¹ Cf. *Sommaire du Procès ap. Opera*, xii. [= C. R. xl.] 565 sqq.

No. 313. Jerome Hermès Bolsec, 1551.

(a) *From Reg. de la Vén. Comp., 15 May 1551.*—Ledit jour fut appellé en la Congrégation des frères M^e Hierosme Bolsec, médecin; lequel tenoit quelques propos esgarez touchant le libéral arbitre et la prédestination, et luy fut remonstré vivement par les passages de l'escriture. Ledit Hierosme se monstra fort obstiné jusques à ce qu'on luy [lût] le passage d'Ezechiel [xviii. 23; xxxiii. 11].

(b) *From Reg. de la Vén. Comp., 16 Oct. 1551.*—Sur la proposition qui se faisoit ledit jour suivant la coustume, après que M. Saint André eut exposé le passage de S. Jehan viii Chap.: *Qui est de Dieu, il oyt les paroles de Dieu*, et que après luy aussi M^e Guillaume Farel eut adjousté ce que N. S. luy donna, M^e Hierosme Bolsec, duquel il a esté parlé cy-dessus, recommença à mettre en avant ses faulses propositions de l'élection et réprobation, nyant qu'elles fussent *ab aeterno* et disant avec grandes protestations et exhortations qu'on ne devoit recognoistre autre élection ou réprobation que celle qui se voit en croyant ou ne croyant point: et que ceux qui mettent une volonté éternelle en Dieu par laquelle il ait ordonné les uns à vie, les autres à mort, en font un tyran voire une idole comme les payens ont faict de Jupiter: *sic volo, sic iubeo, sit pro ratione voluntas*: disant que c'estoit hérésie et que telle doctrine emportoit grand scandale, puis qu'on faisoit à croire à S. Augustin qu'il estoit de ceste opinion,¹ ce qui estoit faulx comme il monsteroit. Davantage qu'on avoit depravé plusieurs passages de l'Escriture pour soutenir ceste faulse et perverse doctrine... adjoustant plusieurs autres calomnies et blasphèmes pas lesquelz il monstroït bien le venin qu'il avoit caché en son cueur, espiant l'heure de opportunité de le vomir en public....

Sur le champ luy fut respondu par M. Calvin, lequel feit remonstrance de ceste doctrine qui avoit esté ja si longtemps enseignée fidèlement en l'Eglise avec commun consentement de tous ceux qui l'ont édifiée depuis le commencement de l'Evangile, et de point en point luy fut respondu à toutes ses calomnies tellement que l'assemblée fut satisfaite et grande-

¹ The Ministers of Geneva relied 'sur tout aux deux livres qu'il [S. Augustin] a intitulez *De praedestinatione sanctorum*. Item au livre *De dono perseverantiae*' &c. (*Calv. Op.* viii. [= *C. R.* xxxvi.] 166). The difference between Calvin and St. Augustine is well stated in Hardwick, *History of the Articles*, 161; Bright, *Lessons from the lives of Three Great Fathers*, 178 sqq.; and Fairbairn, in *Cambridge Modern History*, ii. 365.

ment édiflée par la doctrine laquelle il dësduict sur les passages qui appartiennent à l'élection et réprobation.

Apréz-la Congrégation finie, un des assistantz du Lieutenant qui estoit là présent, à scavoir le S Jehan de la Maison Neufve, voyant le scandale que ledit Hierosme avoit faict en l'Eglise et les blasphèmes qu'il avoit prononcés contre Dieu et sa doctrine disant que nous en faisons une idole, le feit mener prisonnier en l'évesché. Et luy fut commencé son procès, comme à telles gens on a accoustumé.

. . . Ce qui fut faict incontinent, et lors les . . . articles furent signez par tous ceux qui estoient présentz, et portez par devant Messieurs.

(c) *From a letter from Beza at Lausanne to Bullinger, 29 Oct. 1551.* . . . Caeterum ne quid intentatum Satan relinqueret, nuper admodum . . . conatus est in ecclesia Genevensi intestinum etiam dissidium excitare. Is enim, cuius de providentia, prae-destinatione et libero arbitrio axiomata apud te nuper reliqui, quum adhuc apertum bellum ecclesiis non indixisset, tandem prodiit e suis latebris et in medio Genevensis ecclesiae coetu seditiosissime et impudentissime doctrinam suam coepit proponere, nominatim etiam, ut audio, D. Zwinglium et praesentem Calvinum arguens, quos solos ex antiquis et recentioribus vociferabatur doctrinam de praedestinatione et libero arbitrio corripisse. Respondit Calvinus tanto spiritu ut ad summam pietatem et dicendi vehementiam nihil defuisse videretur, et bonorum iudicio eo die se ipsum plane superaret. Mansit tamen ille in sententia. Itaque paullo post a magistratu tanquam seditiosus et manifestus sycophanta in carcerem est coniectus, ubi nunc etiam insanire pergit. . . .

. . . Causae autem capita haec sunt praecipua: sitne quisquam ab aeterno reprobatus et ideo conditus a Deo ut esset vas irae? sintne reprobi ideo reprobi quia increduli, an contra ideo increduli quia reprobi, ideo autem damnati quia increduli? Inde nasci vides quaestionem de arbitrii humani viribus. Nam idem de electis quod de reprobis constituendum erit. Damnari fatemur incredulos propter incredulitatem, et culpam omnem condemnationis in hominem reicimus. In reprobatione autem solam spectamus Dei voluntatem, quae sola est iustitiae regula, et cum Paulo exclamamus: O altitudo! Ille vero clamat: Deum hoc pacto a nobis constitui auctorem peccati et veluti tyrannum, cui sufficiat pro ratione voluntas. . . .

(d) *From the reply of the ministers of Bern to the Council and the ministers of Geneva, 7 Dec. 1551.*— . . Est nobis ille [sc.

Bolsec] prorsus ignotus ; sunt tamen qui praedicant eum non esse virum adeo malum. Optaremus et vobis et illi ut per spiritum Christi vera et sententiarum et affectuum consensione coniungeremini. Videtur in illius responsis, quae misistis, haud adeo exigui esse momenti quod primum tribuit Deo electionem ex hominibus, deinde eorum quos voluit, tertio in Christo, quarto nullius nostri boni sed merae gratiae suae respectu. Praeterea opus esse speciali gratia et attractione ad credendum. Et Deum per Christum reformare mentes hominum, et dare corda carnea, amareque nos ac fidem dare, priusquam a nobis ametur, idque ex paterna misericordia. Per haec veluti principia, si abesset studium contendendi, facilis esset ad ulteriora transitus. . . .

(e) *From a letter of Calvin to Farel, 8 Dec. 1551.*—Nuper de Basiliensibus questus sum¹ qui prae Tigurinīs maxima laude digni sunt. Mi Farelle, dici vix potest quantopere me ista barbaries excruciet. Minusne esse inter nos humanitatis quam inter sylvestres feras? Quid fieret si nullis hostibus cingermur? Nunc quod tres aut quatuor ecclesiae in arcum coactae se non agnoscunt, prodigiosus est stupor. . . .

(f) *The sentence on Bolsec, 23 Dec. 1551.*—Ayantz veu le procès fait et formé par devant nous à l'instance . . . de notre lieutenant . . . contre toy Hieronyme Bolsec, natifz de Parys par lequel et tes volontaires responce . . . nous appert toy Hieronyme Bolsec t'estre trop audacieusement levé en la sainte Congrégation de noz Ministres et y avoir proposé opinion faulse et contre les saintes escriptures et la pure religion Evangelicque . . . par ceste nostre diffinitive sentence . . . toy Hieronyme Bolsec condamnons à debvoir estre perpetuellement banny et te bannyssons de ceste nostre cité et terres d'ycelle . . .

(g) *From the Reg. de la Vén. Comp.*—Le 23^e jour dudict mois [Dec. 1551] ledict M^e Jerosme fut banni à son de trompe des terres de Genève.

No. 314. Predestination, 1552.

(a) *From the Consensus Genevensis, 1 Jan. 1552.*

(a) *From the preface.*—Quae nos ad libellum hunc scribendum impulit ratio, eadem ad ipsum vobis nuncupandum hortatur, praestantissimi domini,² ut sub nomine vestro auspiciisque

¹ *F.p.* 1564 (*Op.* xiv. [= *C.R.* xlii.] 213).

² Syndics and Council of Geneva.

exeat. Electio Dei gratuita, qua sibi ex*perdito damnatoque hominum genere quos visum est adoptat, hactenus non minus reverenter et sobrie, quam sincere et absque furo hic tradita a nobis et placide a populo recepta fuerat : donec circumforaneum erroneum¹ nuper supposuit turbarum omnium pater Satan, qui et doctrinam nostram, quae ex puro Dei verbo sumpta est, convellere et fidem totius populi labefactare tentaret. . . . Ista autem, quam sub vestro nomine piis omnibus offerimus, defensio, tam erit ad curandos sanabiles, ut quidem speramus, validum efficaxque remedium, quam salubre antidotum sanis et integris. Ac digna est materia, ad quam studia sua intendant filii Dei, ne coelestis suae geniturae originem ignorent. Stulte enim quidam, quia Evangelium potentia Dei vocatur in salutem omni credenti, hoc praetextu Dei electionem obliterant. Atqui venire illis in mentem debuerat, unde oriatur fides. Passim autem scriptura clamat Deum Filio suo dare qui sui erant, vocare quos elegit, et quos sibi adoptavit in filios, Spiritu suo regnare : credere denique homines quos ipse intus docuit et quibus patefactum est eius brachium. Porro quisquis fidem arram esse et pignus tenebit adoptionis gratituae, ex aeterno divinae electionis fonte manare fatebitur. . . . Nondum in utero conceptos elegit ut fideles essemus. Fuisse autem hoc impuro nebuloni propositum, ut non modo notitiam electionis deleteret ex hominum animis, sed eius quoque virtutem prorsus everteret, ex eius deliriis quae in actis publicis habetis eius manu scripta diserte liquet : ubi asserit fidem ab electione non pendere, quin potius electionem esse in fide sitam : nullos in caecitate manere ob ingenitam naturae corruptionem, quia rite omnes illuminentur a Deo : nos Deo facere iniuriam, quia deserui tradimus, quos Spiritus sui illuminatione non dignatur : trahi generaliter et ex aequo omnes homines, nec discrimen nisi a contumacia incipere : quum Deus se ex lapideis cordibus carnea facturum promittit, nihil aliud intelligi quam ut gratiae Dei sinus capaces, idque promiscue ad totum genus humanum extendi, quum singulare ecclesiae privilegium esse Scriptura dilucide affirmet. Quantum ad Dei providentiam, qua mundus regitur : inter pios omnes fixum hoc et confessum esse debet, non esse cur suis peccatis socium homines Deum ascribant, vel ullo modo secum involvant ad partem culpae sustinendam : sed quum Scriptura doceat reprobos quoque irae Dei esse organa, quibus partim fideles suos erudiat ad patientiam, partim hostibus poenas infligat, quales merentur, profanus nugator nihil

¹ Bolsec.

a Deo iuste fieri contendit, nisi cuius ratio sub oculis posita iaceat. Omne enim discrimen inter causas remotas et propinquas tollens, aerumnas sancto Iob impositas Dei opus censi non patitur, quin pariter cum diabolo, Chaldaeis et Sabaeis latronibus reus fiat. . . .

Faxit Dominus Deus, Magnifici et praestantes viri, ut, quod hactenus magna cum laude fecistis, indefessi ad extremum usque puram Evangelii doctrinam, quae tam infesta mundi violentia undique pulsatur, fide praesidioque vestro tueri pergatis : et pios omnes, qui se in patrocinium vestrum conferunt, hospitio excipere non desinatis : quo sit urbs vestra inter horribiles istos motus fixum Deo sanctuarium, et fidele Christi membris asyllum.

(β) *From the text.*—Quid nos sentiamus satis locuples, ut nihil praeterea addam, testis est *Institutio*. In primis rogatos velim lectores, ut quod illic admoneo memoria repetant : Non esse, ut quibusdam falso videtur, argutum hanc vel spinosam speculationem, quae absque fructu ingenia fatiget : sed disputationem solidam, et ad pietatis usum maxime accommodam. . . . In Christo fundata est salutis fiducia, et in Evangelii promissiones recumbit. Sed haec non parum valida fultura est, quum nunc, ut in Christum credamus, audimus nobis divinitus esse datum : quia ante mundi originem tam ad fidem ordinati quam ad vitae caelestis haereditatem electi eramus. Hinc illa inextinguibilis securitas quod Pater, qui Filio suo nos in peculium dedit, omnibus potentior, nos e manu eius rapi non patietur. . . . Quodsi nos Evangelii non pudet, quod illic aperte traditur, fateri necesse est, Deum aeterno suo beneplacito, cuius aliunde causa non pendet, quos illi visum est, destinasse ad salutem, aliis reiectis : et quos gratuita adoptione dignatus est, Spiritu suo illuminare ut vitam in Christo oblatam recipiant : alios ita sponte esse incredulos ut fidei luce destituti in tenebris maneant. . . .

(b) *From Reg. du Conseil, 9 Nov. 1552.*—Conseil extraordinaire . . . de l'*Institution Crestienne* du . . . M. Calvin. Et le tout considéré, le Conseil a arrêté et conclu que, toutes choses bien aoyés et entendues, l'on prononce et declayre ledit livre d'*Institution* estre bien et sainctement fait, et sa doctrine estre sainte doctrine de Dieu, et que l'on le tient pour bon et vray ministre de ceste Cité, et que dès icy à l'advenir personne ne soit ausé parler contre ledit livre n'y contre ladite doctrine : commandans aux aultres parties et à tous qu'ilz se doibgent à cela tenir.

No. 315. Servetus, 27 Oct. 1553.

(a) *Tres quaestiones Io. Calvino propositae a M. Serveto, 1559-41.*

1^o. An homo Iesus crucifixus sit Filius Dei: et quae sit huius filiationis ratio?

2^o. An regnum Christi sit in hominibus: quando quis ingrediatur, et quando regeneretur?

3^o. An Baptismus Christi debeat in fide fieri sicut Coena: et quorsum haec instituta sint Foedere Novo?

(b) *From a letter of Calvin to Jean Frellon, a publisher at Lyons, 13 Feb. 1547.*—Seigneur Jehan, pour ce que vos lettres dernières me furent apportées sur mon parlement,¹ je n'eus pas loisir de faire response à ce qui estoit enclos dedans.² Depuis mon retour,³ au premier loisir que j'ay eu, j'ay bien voulu satisfaire à vostre désir: non point que j'aye grand espoir de profiter guères envers tel homme, selon que je le voy disposé: mais à fin d'essayer encor s'il y aura quelque moyen de le reduire, qui sera quand Dieu aura si bien besogné en luy, qu'il devienne tout aultre. Pour ce qu'il m'avoit escrit d'un esperit tant superbe, je luy ay bien voulu rabbatre un petit de son orgueil, parlant à luy plus durement que ma coustume ne porte. Mais je ne l'ay peu faire aultrement. . . . S'il poursuit d'un tel style comme il a faict maintenant, vous perdres temps à me plus solliciter à travailler envers luy, car j'ay d'autres affaires qui me pressent de plus près. Et ferois conscience de m'y plus occuper, ne doutant pas que ce ne fust un Sathan pour me distraires des aultres lectures plus utiles. . . .

(c) *From a letter of Calvin to Farel, 13 Feb. 1547.*—Servetus nuper ad me scripsit, ac litteris adiunxit longum volumen suorum deliriorum² cum thrasonica iactantia, me stupenda et hactenus inaudita visurum. Si mihi placeat, huc se venturum recipit. Sed nolo fidem meam interponere. Nam si venerit, modo valeat mea auctoritas, vivum exire nunquam patiar:⁴ . . .

(d) *From a letter of Servetus, 1548, to Abel Poupin, a minister at Geneva, 1543-456.*—Hac tertia epistola te ita monitum volo, ut melius cogites, non amplius ita moniturus. Offendit vos

¹ To Basel, 24 Jan. 1547 (*Op.* xxi. [= *C. R.* xlix.] 395).

² Servetus' *Christianismi Restitutio*, with thirty letters, refuting point by point the teaching of Calvin (*Op.* viii. [= *C. R.* xxxvi.] 645 sqq.).

³ To Geneva, 10 Feb. 1547 (*Op.* xxi. [= *C. R.* xlix.] 397).

⁴ He must have written in the same sense to Servetus; see the next extract.

forsan quod pugnae illi Michaelis me immisceam et vos immisceri desiderem. . . . Mihi ob eam rem moriendum esse certo scio, sed non propterea animo deficior, ut fiam discipulus similis praeceptoris. . . . Vale, et a me non amplius litteras exspecta.

(e) *From Reg. de la Comp. des Pasteurs, 13 Aug. 1553.*—Michel Servetus aiant esté recogneu par quelsques frères, il fut trouvé bon de le faire emprisonner affin qu'il n'infecta plus le monde de ses blasphemies et heresies, actendu qu'il estoit cogneu du tout incorrigible et désesperé. Sur cela il y eut quelcung qui se fait partie criminelle contre luy. Lequel proposa certains articles contenant ung recueil des erreurs les plus notables dudit Servet. . . . Enfin, Messeigneurs . . . ordonnèrent qu'il se fait ung extraict des propositions erronnées et hérétiques contenues en ses livres, et que, luy aiant respondu par escript, nous montrerions en bref la faulceté de ses opinions, affin d'envoier le tout aux églises voisines pour en avoir conseil.

(f) *From ibid., 27 Oct. 1553.*—Messeigneurs aians receu l'advis des Églises de Berne,¹ Basle, Zürich et Chafouz,² touchant le faict de Servet, condannèrent ledict Servet a estre mené en Champey et la estre bruslé tout vif. Ce que fut faict, sans que ledict Servet à sa mort ait donné aucung indice de repentance de ses erreurs.

(g) *From a letter of Melancthon to Calvin, 14 Oct. 1554.*—Legi scriptum tuum in quo refutasti luculenter horrendas Serveti blasphemias: ac Filio Dei gratias ago, qui fuit βραβεύτης huius tui agonis. Tibi quoque ecclesia et nunc et ad posterum gratitudinem debet et debebit. Tuo iudicio prorsus assentior. Affirmo etiam vestros magistratus iuste fecisse, quod hominem blasphemum re ordine iudicata interfecerunt. . . .

No. 316. The right of the Consistory to excommunicate conceded, 24 Jan. 1555.

(a) *From Reg. du Cons., 22 Jan. 1555.*—Le Conseil assemble sous serment à 7 heures du matin. Lues les . . . éditz touchant l'excommunication. Arresté: On se tient aux éditz: pourtant qu'on tienne Conseil des Soixante et Deux Cens le tout y soit mis et rapporté comment on se tient aux éditz.

(b) *From Reg. du Cons., 24 Jan. 1555.*—Conseil des Soixante. Les ministres proposent par l'organe de M. Calvin comment ont

¹ Thus the ministers of Bern wrote: 'Oramus . . . ut et pestem hanc ab ecclesiis . . . avertatis et simul nihil admittatis quod Magistratui Christiano inconveniens censeri possit' (*Opera*, viii. [= C. R. xxxvi.] 819).

² Schaffhausen.

ja esté aoyz en Conseil Estroit, et hont en icelluy comment icy proposé plusieurs exemples et propos tant de l'excommunication que des imperfections que orès sont ès peuple et de l'ordre du Consistoire estably anciennement pour telles imperfections reprimer, et hont fait des remonstrances bien longues et amples tant par l'escriptures anciennes que par l'usage des apostres, et hont dict que si l'on veult dire que le Consistoire ayt failly qu'il soyent demandés il en respondront et se y offrent. Iceux ministres estans retirés . . . les éditz sus l'excommunication en Conseil Général passés sont esté leus : puyz est esté mis en oppinion et recité l'opinion du Pety Conseil. Et le tout opinione est arresté qu'on se tient aux éditz.

Après est entré le Conseil des Deux Cens. Et icy mesmes le Sr premier Syndicque a mis en avant les propos qui ont ja esté mis en Soixante et semblablement y sont esté aoyz les ministres qui hont proposé comment auxdits Soixante. Sur quoy est esté advisé et par a plus grand voix arresté que l'on se tient aux éditz ja passés par Conseil Général.

No. 317. The University of Geneva, 5 June 1559.

From Promulgatio Legum Academiae Genevensis.—A.D. 1559 Nonis Iunii. . . Neque enim quisquam ignorare potest quantis tempestatibus abhinc annos aliquot iactata fuerit haec civitas, quorundam nefariorum civium coniuratione, quo primum tempore de his rebus constituendis coepit cogitare. Iam vero quum communi omnium rumore feratur, quod maxime quoque probabile est, pace¹ inter potentissimos Europae monarchas facta, Satanam vix quieturum donec omnibus viribus eam urbem adoriatur, a qua una praecipue se suosque peti magna cum regni sui labefactione quotidie sentiat : admirabilis certe constantiae ac fortitudinis fuit, haec consilia non modo non abiicere sed etiam persequi, quo tempore civitati per se non ita magnae et omni paene mortalium praesidio destitutae, de quibusvis rebus potius quam de iis studiis cogitandum videbatur, quae nihil aeque ac pacem et quietudinem requirunt. . . . Itaque . . . quum ea quam dixi multitudo convenisset D. Iohannes Calvinus . . . gallica oratione . . . praefatus, indictum fuisse hunc diem exemplissimi Senatus mandato solenni scholasticarum legum promulgationi, omnes ad preces fundendas est cohortatus. Deinde Michael Rosetus, archigrammateus, Syndicorum iussu, Academiae Leges . . . recitavit. Postea confessionis formulam, in

¹ Cateau-Cambrésis, 3 Apr. 1559.

quam publici omnes auditores iurarent, et iusiurandum solenne quod concipere Rectorem et omnes utriusque scholae, privatae videlicet ac publicae, doctores oporteret, recensuit. Denique a ministrorum collegio electum, ab amplissimo vero Senatu designatum pronuntiavit Theodorum Bezam, unum ex Verbi ministris, Scholae Rectorem. Antea vero designarant etiam iidem . . . Hebraeae, . . . Graecae, . . . Philosophiae professores. . . . Theologiam enim D. Iohannes Calvinus multis iam ante annis profitebatur, cui nunc D. Theodorus Beza, qui alternis hebdomadibus idem munus obeat, collega adiunctus est. . . .

Habentur autem omnino, si quis Academiae Leges recte expendat, singulis hebdomadibus in publica quidem schola lectiones xxvii, tres nimirum theologicae, octo Hebraeae, Graecae tres in ethicis, quinque in Graecis oratoribus vel poetis, tres in physicis vel mathematicis, quinque in dialecticis vel rhetoricis. In privata vero schola, quae in septem classes est distributa, lectiones, absque repetitionibus, lxx singulis hebdomadibus habentur. Quod si, ut speramus Dei bonitate freti, idem Deus istorum consiliorum auctor ea promoverit, tum de istis perficiendis quae sunt inchoata, tum etiam de reliquis adiciendis, puta iurisprudentiae ac medicinae professione, cogitatio suscipietur.

No. 318. Calvin's farewell, and death 27 May 1564.

From Les adieux de Calvin aux ministres de Genève, du vendredi 28 Avril 1564.— . . . Quand je vins premièrement en ceste Eglise, il n'y avoit quasi comme rien. On preschoit et puis c'est tout. On cherchoit bien les idoles et les brusloit-on ; mais il n'y avoit aucune réformation. Toute estoit en tumulte. Il y avoit bien le bonhomme M^e Guillaume, et puis l'avengle Couraut. . . . D'advantage il y avoit M^e Anthoine Saulnier, et ce beau prescheur Froment qui ayant laissé son devancier s'en montoit en chaire, puis s'en retournoit à sa boutique où il jasoit, et ainsi il faisoit double sermon.

J'ay vescu icy en combats merveilleux : j'ay esté salué par mocquerie le soir devant ma porte de 50 ou 60 coups d'arquebute. Que pensez-vous que cela pouvoit estonner un pauvre escholier timide comme je suis, et comme je l'ay tousjours esté, je le confesse ?

Puis après je fus chassé de ceste ville, et m'en allay à Strasbourg, où ayant demeuré quelque temps je fus rappélé, mais je n'eus pas moins de peine qu'auparavant en voulant

faire ma charge.—On m'a mis les chiens à ma queue, criant hère, hère, et m'ont prins par la robbe et par les jambes. Je m'en allay au Conseil des Deux Cents, quand on se combattoit, et retins les aultres qui y vouloyent aller, et qui n'estoyent pour faire cela ; et quoyqu'on se vante d'avoir tout fait, comme M. de Saulx, je me trouvay là, et en entrant on me disoit : 'Monsieur, retirez-vous ; ce n'est pas à vous qu'on en veult' je leur dis : 'Non feray ; allez, meschans ; tuez-moy, et mon sang sera contre vous, et ces bancqs mesmes le requerront.'—Ainsy j'ay esté parmy les combats, et vous en expérimenterez qu'ils ne seront pas moindres, mais plus grands. . . . Quant à ma doctrine, j'ay enseigné fidèlement, et Dieu m'a faict la grâce d'escripre ce que j'ay faict le plus fidèlement qu'il m'a esté possible, et n'ay pas corrompu un seul passage de l'Escripture, ne destourné à mon escient ; et quand j'eusse bien peu amener des sens subtils, si je me fusse estudié à subtilité, j'ay mis tout cela sous le pied et me suis toujours estudié à simplicité.

Je n'ay escrit aucune chose par haine à l'encontre d'aucun, mais tousjours ay proposé fidèlement ce que j'ay estimé estre pour la gloire de Dieu.

Quant à notre estat intérieur, vous avez esleu M. de Bèze pour tenir ma place. Regardez de le soulager, car la charge est grande, et a de la peine, en telle sorte qu'il faudroit qu'il fust accablé sous le fardeau. Maiz regardez à le supporter. . . .

J'avois oublié ce point : Je vous prie aussi ne changer rien, ne innover.—On demande souvent nouveauté :—non pas que je désire pour moy par ambition que le mien demeure, et qu'on le retienne sans vouloir mieux, mais parce que tous changemens sont dangereux, et quelque fois nuisent.

A mon retour de Strasbourg, je fis le Catéchisme à la haste, car je ne voulus jamais accepter le ministère qu'ils ne m'eussent juré ces deux points, assavoir de tenir le Catéchisme et la Discipline. . . .

Quant aux prières des Dimanches, je prins la forme de Strasbourg, et en empruntay la plus grande partie. Des autres, je ne les pouvois prendre d'eux, car il n'y en avoit pas un mot : mais je prins le tout de l'Escripture.

Je fus contrainct aussi de faire le formulaire du Baptesme, estant à Strasbourg, et qu'on m'apportoit les enfans des anabaptistes de cinq et de dix lieues à la ronde pour les baptiser. Je fis alors ce formulaire rude, mais tant y a que je ne vous conseille de ne changer.

L'Eglise de [Berne] a trahi ceste-ci, et ils m'ont tousjours

plus craint qu'aimé, et je veux bien qu'ils sçachent que je suis mort en ceste opinion d'eux qu'ils m'ont plus craint qu'aimé, et encores me craignent plus qu'ils ne m'aiment, et ont tousjours eu peur que je ne les troublasse en leur eucharistie. . . .

B.

CALVINISM IN EUROPE (EXCLUDING ENGLAND) BEYOND GENEVA

§ 1. CENTRAL AND EASTERN EUROPE

XIX

SWITZERLAND, HUNGARY, THE PALATINATE,
AND POLAND

Calvin was to prove the only international reformer; and, first, by uniting German with French Switzerland upon the doctrine of the Sacraments. Zwingli's sacramental doctrine had been mainly destructive. Of sacraments in general, he taught 'sacramentum esse sacrae rei, hoc est factae gratiae signum' (Niemeyer, *Coll. Conf.* 26); and, as to the Eucharist, he held that, as at His ascension, our Lord was 'adsumptus in coelum, abiit ergo et non est hic' (*ibid.* 47). The most he would admit was that 'verum Christi corpus adsit fidei contemplatione' (*ibid.* 26). Zwingli thus left behind him a doctrine which Luther dubbed Sacramentarianism and Calvin called 'profane'. But Bullinger, his son-in-law and successor, 1531-175, at Zürich was more constructive. In his *Uff* Johannsen [Faber] *Wyenischen Bischoffs Trostbüchlein tröstliche Verantwortung* [Zürich, 1532] he abandoned Sacramentarianism for Sacramentalism and wrote: 'We acknowledge in the Supper a mystery; the bread is not mere baker's bread but honourable, holy, and sacramental bread, wherein Christ is present, to wit, sacramentally, spiritually to the eye of faith, since else bodily He sitteth at the right hand of God. But as the sun standeth in the heavens and yet reacheth hither to us with its rays, so Christ sitteth at the right hand of God, and yet worketh in all faithful hearts' (cf. Hauck-Herzog, *Realencyclopädie*³, iii. 543). Bullinger thus opened the way for the reception of the Genevan doctrine of the sacraments in German Switzerland. Calvin, after correspondence 1548-9, with him (*Opera*, vii. [= C. R. xxxv.] 693 sqq.: xii. [= C. R. xli.] 480, 590, 705, 727: xiii. [= C. R. xli.] 110, 164, 221, 223, 259, 278), visited Zürich, accompanied by Farel; and, May 1549, they united with Bullinger in [No. 319] the *Consensus Tigurinus* (*ibid.* vii.

[= *C. R.* xxxv.] 733 sqq.; Niemeyer, 191 sqq.). Other formularies attest the progress of the Reformed theology, specially of the Eucharist, in Central and Eastern Europe; viz. 1557 [No. 320] the **Confessio Czengerina** (*ibid.* 545 sq.) of the Magyar majority among the followers of the Reformation in Hungary; 1563 [No. 321] the **Heidelberg Catechism** (*ibid.* 447) of the Palatinate; and 14 April 1570 [No. 322] the **Consensus Sendomiriensis** (*ibid.* 553) which effected a union between Lutherans, Calvinists, and Bohemian Brethren against the anti-Trinitarians in Poland and so marked out the traditional limits of the later evangelical or protestant orthodoxy.

No. 319. The Consensus Tigurinus, May 1549.

I. Quum Christus sit finis Legis, et eius agnitio totam in se Evangelii summam comprehendat, non dubium est quin huc spectet totum spirituale Ecclesiae regimen, ut ad Christum nos ducat. Sicuti per eum solum ad Deum pervenitur, qui ultimus est beatae vitae finis: itaque quisquis hinc vel minimum deflectet, nunquam de ullis Dei institutis rite vel apposite loquetur.

II. Quum autem Sacramenta sint Evangelii appendices, is demum et apte et utiliter de eorum natura, vi, officio et fructu disseret, qui a Christo exordietur. Neque id modo, ut obiter Christi nomen attingat, sed ut vere teneat quorsum nobis datus sit a Patre, et quid nobis bonorum attulerit.

III. Sic ergo habendum est, Christum, quum aeternus esset Dei Filius, eiusdem cum Patre essentiae et gloriae, induisse carnem nostram, ut iure adoptionis id quod natura proprium habebat, nobis communicaret, nempe ut simus filii Dei: quod fit, dum fide inserti in corpore Christi, idque Spiritus sancti virtute, primum iusti censemur gratuita iustitiae imputatione; deinde regeneramur in novam vitam: quo reformati in imaginem Patris caelestis veteri homini renuntiemus.

IV. Ita Christus in carne sua considerandus est nobis Sacerdos, qui peccata nostra unico mortis suae sacrificio expiavit, qui omnes nostras iniquitates delevit sua obedientia, qui nobis perfectam iustitiam comparavit, qui nunc intercedit pro nobis, ut accessus nobis ad Deum pateat. Considerandus est tanquam victima expiatrix, qua placatus est Deus mundo. Considerandus est frater, qui nos ex miseris Adae filiis effecit beatos Dei filios. Considerandus est reparator, qui Spiritus sui virtute reformat quicquid in nobis est vitiosum, ut mundo vivere desinamus et carni, ac Deus ipse in nobis vivat. Considerandus est rex qui omni bonorum genere nos ditat, qui nos gubernat

sua virtute ac tuetur, qui nos spiritualibus armis instituit, qui nos ab omni noxa liberat, qui oris sui sceptro nos moderatur ac regit. Atque ita considerandus, ut ad se Deum verum et ad Patrem nos evehat, donec impleatur illud quod tandem futurum est, nempe ut sit Deus omnia in omnibus.

V. Porro, ut se nobis talem exhibeat Christus, ac eiusmodi effectus in nobis proferat, unum cum ipso nos effici et in eius corpus coalescere nos oportet. Qui non aliter vitam in nos suam diffundit, nisi dum caput nostrum est; ex quo totum corpus compactum et connexum, per omnem iuncturam subministrationis, secundum operationem, in mensura cuiusque membri augmentum corporis faciat.

VI. Haec spiritualis est communicatio, quam habemus cum Filio Dei, dum Spiritu suo in nobis habitans facit credentes omnes, omnium quae in se resident bonorum compotes. Cuius testificandae causa tam Evangelii praedicatio instituta quam Sacramentorum usus nobis commendatus, nempe sacri Baptismi et sacrae Coenae.

VII. Sunt quidem et hi Sacramentorum fines, ut notae sint ac tesseræ Christianae professionis et societatis sive fraternitatis, ut sint ad gratiarum actionem incitamenta et exercitia fidei ac piæ vitae, denique syngraphæ ad id obligantes. Sed hic unus inter alios præcipuus, ut per ea nobis gratiam suam testetur Deus, repræsentet atque obsignet. Nam etsi nihil aliud significant quam quod Verbo ipso annunciat, hoc tamen magnum est, subiici oculis nostris quasi vivas imagines, quæ sensus nostros melius afficiant, quasi in rem ducendo; dum nobis Christi mortem omniaque eius beneficia in memoriam revocant, ut fides magis exerceatur: deinde quod ore Dei pronunciatum erat, quasi sigillis confirmari et sanciri.

VIII. Quam autem vera sint, quæ nobis Dominus dedit gratiæ suæ testimonia et sigilla, vere proculdubio præstat ipse intus suo Spiritu, quod oculis et aliis sensibus figurant Sacramenta: hoc est, ut potiamur Christo, tanquam bonorum omnium fonte: tum ut beneficio mortis eius reconciliemur Deo, Spiritu renovemur in vitæ sanctitatem, iustitiam denique ac salutem consequamur, simulque pro his beneficiis olim in cruce exhibitis, fide vero perceptis a nobis et quæ quotidie fide percipimus iam agamus gratias.

IX. Quare, etsi distinguimus, ut par est, inter signa et res signatas: tamen non disiungimus a signis veritatem: quin omnes qui fide amplectuntur illic oblatas promissiones, Christum spiritualiter cum spiritualibus eius donis recipere, adeoque et qui

dudum participes facti erant Christi, communionem illam continuare ac reparare fateamur.

X. Neque enim ad signa nuda, sed potius ad promissionem, quae illic annexa est, respicere convenit. Quatenus ergo in promissione illic oblata proficiat nostra fides, eatenus ista vis et efficacia, quam dicimus, se exserit. Ita materia aquae, panis aut vini, Christum nequaquam nobis offert, nec spiritualium eius donorum compotes nos facit: sed promissio magis spectanda est, cuius partes sunt nos recta fidei via ad Christum ducere, quae fides nos Christi participes facit.

XI. Hinc concidit eorum error, qui in elementis obstupescunt, et illic affigunt salutis suae fiduciam. Quum sacramenta a Christo separata nihil sint quam inanes larvae: et in ipsis omnibus haec vox clare personet, non alibi quam in solo Christo haerendum, nec aliunde petendam esse salutis gratiam.

XII. Praeterea, si quid boni nobis per sacramenta confertur, id non fit propria eorum virtute, etiam si promissionem, qua insigniuntur, comprehendas. Deus enim solus est, qui Spiritu suo agit. Et quod sacramentorum ministerio utitur, in eo neque vim illis suam infundit, nec Spiritus sui efficaciae quicquam derogat: sed pro ruditatis nostrae captu ea tanquam adminicula sic adhibet, ut tota agendi facultas maneat apud ipsum solum.

XIII. Itaque, quemadmodum Paulus admonet, eum qui plantat aut rigat nihil esse, sed unum Deum qui dat incrementum: ita et de Sacramentis dicendum est, ea nihil esse, quia nihil profutura sint, nisi Deus in solidum omnia efficiat. Organa quidem sunt, quibus efficaciter, ubi visum est, agit Deus: sed ita ut totum salutis nostrae opus ipsi uni acceptum ferri debeat.

XIV. Constituimus ergo unum esse Christum, qui vere intus baptizat, qui nos in Coena facit sui participes, qui denique implet quod figurant Sacramenta: et sic quidem uti his adminiculis, ut totus effectus penes eius Spiritum resideat.

XV. Sic interdum sacramenta vocantur sigilla, dicuntur fidem alere, confirmare, promovere: et tamen solus Spiritus proprie est sigillum, et idem fidei inchoator est et perfectior. Nam haec omnia sacramentorum attributa inferiore loco subsidunt, ut ne minima quidem salutis nostrae portio, ab unico auctore, ad creaturas vel elementa transferatur.

XVI. Praeterea sedulo docemus, Deum non promiscue vim suam exserere in omnibus qui sacramenta recipiunt, sed tantum in electis. Nam quemadmodum non alios in fidem illuminat, quam quos praeordinavit ad vitam: ita arcana Spiritus sui virtute efficit ut percipiant electi quae offerunt sacramenta.

XVII. Hac doctrina evertitur illud sophistarum cōmentum, quod docet sacramenta novae legis conferre gratiam omnibus non ponentibus obicem peccati mortalis. Praeterquam enim quod in sacramentis nihil nisi fide percipitur, tenendum quoque est minime alligatam ipsis esse Dei gratiam ut, quisquis signum habeat, re etiam potiatur. Nam reprobis peraeque ut electis signa administrantur; veritas autem signorum ad hos solos pervenit.

XVIII. Certum quidem est offerri communiter omnibus Christum cum suis donis, nec hominum incredulitate labefactari Dei veritatem, quin semper vini suam retineant sacramenta: sed non omnes Christi et donorum eius sunt capaces. Itaque ex Dei parte nihil mutatur; quantum vero ad homines spectat, quisque pro fidei suae mensura accipit.

XIX. Quemadmodum autem nihilo plus sacramentorum usus infidelibus confert, quam si abstinerent, imo tantum illis exitialis est: ita extra eorum usum fidelibus constat, quae illic figuratur veritas. Sic Baptismo abluta sunt Pauli peccata, quae iam prius abluta erant. Sic idem Baptismus Cornelio fuit lavacrum regenerationis, qui tamen iam Spiritu sancto donatus erat. Sic in Coena se nobis communicat Christus, qui tamen et prius se nobis impertierat et perpetuo manet in nobis. Nam quum iubeantur singuli seipsos probare, inde consequitur, fidem ab ipsis requiri, antequam ad sacramentum accedant. Atqui fides non est sine Christo, sed quatenus sacramentis confirmatur et augebitur fides, confirmantur in nobis Dei dona, adeoque quodammodo augebitur Christus in nobis, et nos in ipso.

XX. Utilitas porro quam ex sacramentis percipimus, ad tempus quo ea nobis administrantur, minime restringi debet: perinde ac si visibile signum, dum in medium proferetur, eodem secum momento Dei gratiam adveheret. Nam qui in prima infantia baptizati sunt, eos in pueritia vel ineunte adolescentia, interdum etiam in senectute regenerat Deus. Ita Baptismi utilitas ad totum vitae decursum patet, quia perpetuo viget quae illic continetur promissio. Et fieri interdum potest, ut sacrae Coenae usus, qui in actu ipso propter incogitantiam vel tarditatem nostram parum prodest, fructum deinde suum proferat.

XXI. Praesertim vero tollenda est quaelibet localis praesentiae imaginatio. Nam quum signa hic in mundo sint, oculis cernantur, palpentur manibus: Christus quatenus homo est, non alibi quam in caelo, nec aliter quam mente et fidei

intelligentia quaerendus est. Quare perversa et impia superstitio est, ipsum sub elementis huius mundi includere.

XXII. Proinde, qui in solemnibus Coenae verbis, Hoc est corpus meum, Hic est sanguis meus : praecise literalem, ut loquuntur, sensum urgent, eos tanquam praeposteros interpretes repudiamus. Nam extra controversiam ponimus, figurate accipienda esse, ut esse panis et vinum dicantur id quod significant. Neque vero novum hoc aut insolens videri debet, ut per metonymiam ad signum transferatur rei figuratae nomen, quum passim in Scripturis eiusmodi locutiones occurrant : et nos sic loquendo nihil afferimus quod non apud vetustissimos quosque et probatissimos Ecclesiae scriptores exstet.

XXIII. Quod autem carnis suae esu et sanguinis potione, quae hic figurantur, Christus animas nostras per fidem Spiritus sancti virtute pascit, id non perinde accipiendum quasi fiat aliqua substantiae vel commixtio vel transfusio ; sed quoniam ex carne semel in sacrificium oblata et sanguine in expiationem effuso vitam hauriamus.

XXIV. Hoc modo non tantum refutatur Papistarum commentum de Transsubstantiatione sed crassa omnia figmenta atque futes argutiae, quae vel caelesti eius gloriae detrahunt vel veritati humanae naturae minus sunt consentaneae. Neque enim minus absurdum iudicamus, Christum sub pane locare vel cum pane copulare quam panem transsubstantiare in corpus eius.

XXV. Ac ne qua ambiguitas restet, quum in coelo quaerendum Christum dicimus, haec locutio locorum distantiam nobis sonat et exprimit. Tametsi enim philosophice loquendo supra coelos locus non est ; quia tamen corpus Christi, ut fert humani corporis natura et modus, finitum est et coelo, ut loco, continetur, necesse est a nobis tanto locorum intervallo distare, quanto coelum abest a terra.

XXVI. Quod si imaginatione nostra Christum pani et vino affigere fas non est, multo minus licet eum in pane adorare. Quanquam enim panis in symbolum et pignus eius, quam habemus cum Christo, communionis nobis porrigitur ; quia tamen signum est, non res ipsa, neque rem in se inclusam habet aut affixam, idolum ex eo faciunt, qui mentem suam in eum convertunt, Christum adoraturi.

No. 320. The Confessio Czengerina, 1557.

§ 7. *De Sacramentariis.*—Reiicimus et eorum delirium, qui Coenam Domini vacuum signum, vel Christi absentis tantum

memoriam his signis recoli docent. Nam sicut Christus est *Amen, testis fidelis, verax, veritas et vita*, ita Coena Domini est praesentis et infiniti, aeternique filii Dei unigeniti a Patre memoria: qui se et sua bona, carnem suam et sanguinem suum, id est, panem vivum et potum coelestem, Spiritus sancti ope per verbum promissionis gratiae, offert et exhibet electis fide vera evangelium Christi apprehendentibus: ut Ioann. vi.

§ 8. *De praesentia in Coena.*—Christum credimus ubique electis suis praesentem, ut Filium Dei Iehovam unigenitum a Patre, quatenus hi tres sunt unum, id est unus Deus. Sed hic Filius Dei, ut Deus, Sermo est mystice et spiritualiter quoque, dum enter praesenter Iehovali sua deitate, et cum donis in unigenito et primogenito somatice et vere habitantibus adest: perinde ut Pater, sicut vitis in palmitibus, caput in membris adest. Ut autem est homo, fratribus per omnia similis, id est [paest] in Ecclesia sua mystice et spiritualiter. Primo, adest per unionem cum Logo, quatenus unitus est Logo ubique praesenti. Secundo, adest in sua promissione per verbum et fidem, communicando se electis, ut vitis in palmitibus distantibus et dissitis a vite, caput in membris dissitis a capite adest per venas. Ita vitis et caput homo Christus [in] quoque nostrum adest per promissiones gratiae dum panem vivum et potum coelestem nobis communicat. Tertio, adest institutione sua sacramentali aut Spiritus sancti effusione in electos. Quarto, officio dispensatorio, aut intercessionem pro electis. Non est autem praesens carnaliter sicut in utero matris, in Iudaea, in sepulchro fuit praesens localiter: quia ascendit in coelum corporaliter, surrexit, non est hic, et oportet in coelo esse usque ad diem iudicii. Act. iii. 11.

No. 321. The Heidelberg Catechism, 1563.

LXXVII. *Quo loco promisit Christus se credentibus tam certo corpus et sanguinem suum sic edendum et bibendum daturum, quam fractum hunc panem edunt et poculum hoc bibunt?*

In institutione Coenae, cuius haec sunt verba: *D.N.I.C., ea nocte qua proditus est, &c.* [1 Cor. xi. 23-5: Matth. xxvi. 26-8: Marc. xiv. 22-4: Luc. xxii. 19, 20]. Haec promissio a Paulo repetitur, cum inquit: *Poculum gratiarum actionis &c.* [1 Cor. x. 16, 17].

LXXVIII. *Num ergo panis et vinum fiunt ipsum corpus et sanguis Christi?*

Nequaquam: verum ut aqua Baptismi in sanguinem Christi non convertitur nec est ipsa peccatorum ablutio sed symbolum tantum et pignus earum rerum quae nobis in Baptismo obsignantur: ita nec panis Coenae Dominicae est ipsum corpus Christi: quanquam, pro ratione sacramentorum et usitata Spiritui sancto de his loquendi forma, panis Christi corpus appellatur.

LXXX. *Quid interest inter Coenam Domini et Missam Papisticam?*

Coena Domini nobis testatur nos perfectam remissionem omnium nostrorum peccatorum habere propter unicum illud Christi sacrificium quod ipsemet semel in cruce peregit: tum etiam nos per Spiritum sanctum inseri Christo, qui iam secundum naturam suam humanam tantum in coelis est ad dexteram Patris ibique vult a nobis adorari.

In Missa autem negatur vivos et mortuos habere remissionem peccatorum propter unicum Christi passionem, nisi etiamnum quotidie Christus pro ipsis a sacrificulis offeratur; tum etiam docetur Christum corporaliter sub speciebus panis et vini esse ideoque in illis adorandum esse. Atque ita ipsum Missae fundamentum nihil aliud est quam abnegatio unici illius sacrificii et passionis Iesu Christi, et execranda idololatria.

No. 322. The Consensus Sendomiriensis, 14 April 1570.

Posteaquam diu multumque cum sectariis, Tritheitis, Ebionitis, Anabaptistis conflictatum esset, ac tandem divino favore ex tot tantisque certaminibus et deplorandis contentionibus emersimus: visum est iisdem ecclesiis Polonicis reformatis et orthodoxis quae in quibusdam capitibus et formulis doctrinae (hostibus veritatis et Evangelii) minime consentire videbantur, pacis et concordiae studio, synodum convocare atque consensionem mutuam testari. Quare habita collatione amica et Christiana, sic iunctis compositisque animis consensimus in haec capita.

Primum quemadmodum et nos qui in praesenti synodo nostram confessionem edidimus et Fratres nunquam credidimus eos qui Augustanam Confessionem amplectuntur aliter quam pie et orthodoxe sentire de Deo et sacra Trinitate atque Incarnatione Filii Dei et iustificatione nostra aliisque praecipuis capitibus Fidei nostrae: ita etiam ii qui Augustanam Confessionem sequuntur professi sunt candide et sincere se vicissim

tam de nostrarum ecclesiarum quam de Fratrum Böhemicorum (quos quidam rerum ignari Waldenses vocant) confessione de Deo et sacra Triade, Incarnatione Filii Dei, iustificatione et aliis primariis capitibus Fidei Christianae, nihil agnoscere quod sit absonum ab orthodoxa veritate et puro verbo Dei. Ibique sancte invicem polliciti sumus, unanimiter secundum regulam verbi Dei, nos defensuros Consensum hunc mutuum in vera et pura Christi religione contra Pontificios, contra sectarios, contra denique omnes hostes Evangelii et veritatis.

Deinde vero quantum ad infelix illud dissidium de Coena Domini attinet, convenimus in sententia verborum D. N. I. C., ut illa orthodoxe intellecta sunt a Patribus ac iniprinis Irenaeo qui duabus rebus, scilicet terrena et coelesti, hoc mysterium constare dixit: neque elementa signave nuda et vacua illa esse asserimus, sed simul re ipsa credentibus exhibere et praestare fide quod significant: denique, ut expressius clariusque loquamur, convenimus ut credamus et confiteamur substantialem praesentiam Christi non significari duntaxat sed vere in Coena eo vescentibus repraesentari, distribui et exhiberi corpus et sanguinem Domini symbolis adiectis ipsi rei, minime nudis, secundum sacramentorum naturam. . . .

§ 2. FRANCE.

XX

THE HUGUENOTS,¹ 1560

In France, the Netherlands, and Scotland, Calvinism made rapid progress. In each of these countries it had established itself before the death of Calvin. In all, it won its way not, as did Lutheranism elsewhere, under the protection of princes but in conflict with monarchy, coming as a last reinforcement to the aid of the nobles in the struggle of decaying feudalism against centralization. Where the struggle ended in favour of absolutism, Calvinism either divided the realm, as in the Netherlands, or became a sectional creed, as in France. But whereas, in these countries, 'the attempts of the nobles and the protestant tendencies had been alike defeated, they had, on the other hand, by a similar union, achieved a decisive victory in Scotland' (Ranke, *History of England*, i. 280). There Calvinism became the creed of the nation as a whole.

¹ The name first appeared about March 1560; but its origin is unknown. Cf. Baird, *The Rise of the Huguenots*, i. 397. 'Puritain' appears 1564, in P. de Ronsard (*Oeuvres*, vii. 26, ed. P. Blancheman).

In France the first signs of reform appeared in quarters influenced by Humanism, with Jacques Lefèvre d'Étaples, 1455-†1536 (*supra*, pp. 477, 545: cf. Lavissee, *Histoire de France*, V. i. 342 sqq.). He and his friends enjoyed the favour of Francis I and his sister Margaret. But they had powerful enemies; both at Court, and in the Sorbonne and the Parliament of Paris (*ibid.* 353 sqq.), the two institutions by which, under the Crown, the unity of France was sustained. With Francis, this unity (expressed not indeed by the maxim *Cuius regio eius religio*, but by its equivalent, *Une foi, une loi, un Roi*) was the first consideration. Repression, therefore, was inevitable. But it took place at intervals—1523 (*ibid.* 356 sqq.), 1534 (*ibid.* 374 sqq.; and *supra*, No. 270) and 1544-7 (*ibid.* 386 sq.; and ii. 121 sqq.)—and did not prevent negotiation with the Lutherans abroad. Indeed, the aims of Francis were at best political, to cement an alliance against the Emperor. But on his death, 31 March 1547, the prospect of reform in France taking shape under Lutheran influences disappeared.

He was succeeded by his son, the dissolute yet orthodox (*ibid.* ii. 201) Henry II, 1547-†59; and 'Lutheranism' by a Calvinistic propaganda (*ibid.* ii. 187 sqq.). Henry met this more militant religion by a series of measures for its extinction (*ibid.* 202 sqq.): by, 8 Oct. 1547, the 'Chambre Ardente' (Weiss, *La Chambre Ardente*, Paris 1889), which pronounced 500 sentences between Dec. 1547 and Jan. 1550; by the edict of 19 Nov. 1549 (*Recueil général des anciennes lois françaises*, xiii. 134 sqq., edd. Jourdan, Decrusy and Isambert), which submitted cases of heresy, accompanied by public scandal, to the civil courts; by 27 June 1551 [No. 323] the Edict of Châteaubriand (*ibid.* 189 sqq.; *Calv. Ep.* 1535, *Opera*, xiv. [= *C. R.* xlii.] 186) which made their sentence final; and, after the failure of attempts, 1555-7, to introduce the Inquisition, by 24 July 1557 [No. 324] the Edict of Compiègne (*Recueil*, xiii. 494 sqq.) which left the judges no option of inflicting any penalty save that of death.

The cruelties that followed only served, under the inspiration of Calvin, to stiffen the resistance, swell the numbers, and perfect the organization of the Reformed. Thus Dec. 1552 [No. 325] Calvin wrote to encourage the 'Five Scholars' (*Ep.* 1679; *Opera*, xiv. [= *C. R.* xlii.] 423) who perished at Lyons, 16 May 1553. In Sept. 1555 [No. 326] the first minister was chosen and the first congregation organized at Paris (de Bèze, *Hist. eccl. des Églises réformées de France*, i. 98, Anvers, 1580). Other places followed suit, till there were seventy-two congregations by 1559 (cf. K. Müller, *Calvin und die Anfänge der französischen Hugenottenkirche*, in *Preussische Jahrbücher*, cxiv: Dec. 1903); and ministers were either asked or sent from Geneva, to the number of 19 in 1559, 12 in 1560, and 90 in 1561 (*Opera*, xxi. [= *C. R.* xlix.] 71-710). On 26 May 1559 there met in Paris [No. 327] the first National Synod (de Bèze, i. 172). It adopted (*a*) for its formulary of faith [No. 328] the Confession de Foi (*ibid.* 173 sqq.; *Opera*, ix.

[= C. R. xxxvii.] 731 sqq.; Niemeyer, 311 sqq.; Schaff, *Creeds of the Evangelical Protestant Churches*, 356 sqq.) or *Confessio Gallicana* (Niemeyer, 327 sqq.), not Calvin's but the work of his pupil Antoine de la Roche Chandieu, and (b) for its constitution. [No. 329] the *Discipline Ecclésiastique* (Aymon, *Synodes nationaux des Églises réformées de France*, I. ii, 1 sqq. La Haye, 1710). In 1561, according to [No. 330] a *Report of the Venetian Ambassador* (*Calendar of State Papers, Venetian*, 1558-80, No. 272) the influence of Calvin was alarming: and his followers by, 17 Jan. 1562, the Edict of St. Germain (*Recueil*, xiv. 124 sqq.) were accorded a toleration, which, after the long and bitter experiences of the Wars of Religion, 1562-98, survived in 13 April 1598 the Edict of Nantes. The Catholic Church retained its supremacy as the religion of the vast majority; but, whereas in the rest of Europe the principle obtained that every sovereign should be free to maintain one religion and one only for his subjects (cf. *supra*, No. 149), the Huguenots, though according to a Venetian writer of 1582 (Ranke, *History of the Popes*, i. 503, ed. Bohn) their numbers had diminished by seventy per cent, vindicated the principle of toleration for minorities which allows different religions to co-exist side by side.

No. 323. The Edict of Châteaubriand, 27 June 1551.

(a) *From the Edict*, § 5.—Et d'autant que nous voulons de tout nostre pouvoir . . . desraciner et extirper telles malheureuses, damnées et réprouvées sectes, nous avons ordonné et ordonnons que les juges présidiaux en leurs sièges présidiaux seulement procédans aux jugemens définitifs des accusez et chargez des crimes, dont par le présent édict leur est baillée la cognoissance, appelleront aux jugemens desdits procez, jusqu'au nombre de dix, c'est à savoir aux lieux et sièges esquels y a conseillers par nous ordonnez jusqu'au dit nombre de dix, si tant y a. Et où il n'y auroit ledit nombre, ou bien qu'il n'y eust nul conseiller au dit siège, suppléeront et prendront des advocats, jusqu'au nombre de dix pour le moins, des plus notables et fameux, comprins les lieutenans particuliers, les prévosts ordinaires, leurs lieutenans et officiers royaux, qui sont de l'estat de judicature, par lesquels ils feront signer le bref ou diction de leur jugement et sentence, dont les condamnez ne seront receus à appeler, mais sera ladite sentence et jugement exécutée nonobstant leur appel, comme si c'estoit arrest de nos cours souveraines: nonobstant l'érection et établissement d'icelles. . . .

(b) *From a letter of Calvin to Bullinger*, 15 Oct. 1551.—*Atrocia enim edicta publicata sunt quibus convellitur per-*

petuus regni status ut novae contra pios saeviendi viae pateant. Quid hactenus veneficis, falsariis, latronibus concessum fuit, et adhuc conceditur, ut ius provocandi habeant ad supremam curias, hoc Christianis ademptum est, quos sine provocazione iubentur ordinarii iudices ad ignem mox rapere. Cognatis eorum qui de vita periclitantur, interdictum est ne deprecari audeant nisi haereticorum fautores haberi velint. Ne desint incendiis flabella, tertia pars bonorum accusatoribus addicitur. Si qui iudices videantur nimium remissi, ab illis poena exigitur. Cavetur ne quos regni cancellarius ad publica officia admittat qui vel levi suspicione unquam aspersi fuerint, ac ne quis posthac nisi Christo infestus locum in iudiciis occupet. Quicumque ad munus publicum adspirant, iubentur offerre multorum testimonia quibus se obsequentes Romanae Ecclesiae filios probent. Si quis fefellerit, poena commendatoribus iniungitur. Poena etiam civitatibus edicitur quae magistros suffragiis creaverint Lutheranae doctrinae vel minimum suspectos. Supremis curiis lex imponitur, si qui consilarii doctrinae nostrae favere visi fuerint, ut se iureiurando purgent. Iubentur omnes deum panaceum solito intentius flexis genibus adorare. Mandatur parochis ut singulis diebus dominicis articulos Sorbonicos pro suggestu ad populum legant, ut ita sollemnis Christi abnegatio ubique personet. Bona omnium qui ad nos migrarunt fisco adiudicantur, etiamsi vendita ante discessum aut quovis modo alienata fuerint, nisi iudices cognoscant rite ante facinus animo conceptum vendita esse. Geneva illic plus decies, semper addito insigni probro, nominatur. Verum simul adduntur loca omnia in quibus a sede Romana facta est discessio. . . .

No. 324. The Edict of Compiègne, 24 July 1557.

§ 4. Et pour ce que bien souvent advient que nosdits juges sont meuz de pitié par les saintes et malicieuses paroles des prevenus desdits crimes tendans à repentance: nous pour éviter que par leur calliditez et malices ils n'eschappent la punition qu'ils ont bien mérité, avons ordonné et ordonnons que ceux qui seront trouvez sacramentaires, obstinez et pertinax ou relaps, qui auront dogmatizé tant publiquement qu'en conventicules privez et secrets, qui auront faict injure au saint sacrement, aux images de Dieu, de sa benoiste Mère, et des Saints, qui pour les effets que dessus, soustenans lesdits erreurs, auront faict séditions et assemblées populaires, tant pour faire prescher lesdits erreurs et opinions qu'autrement pour soustenir lesdites sectes, pareillement ceux qui auront

contrevenu aux défenses par nous faites de n'aller à Genève, de ne porter livres reprouvez pour iceux vendre, semer et distribuer parmy le peuple, et seront atteints et convaincus des cas dessusdits, seront punis de peine de mort sans que nos juges puissent remettre et modérer les peines, en façon que ce soit. . . .

**No. 325. Calvin to the 'Five Scholars' of
Lausanne, Dec. 1552.**

. . . Vous savez, mes frères, qu'il nous faut estre ainsi mortifiez pour lui estre offerts en sacrifices. Il ne se peut faire que vous ne sousteniez de durs combats, afin que ce qui a esté dit à Pierre s'accomplisse en vous: qu'on vous tirera où vous ne voudrez point (Jean xxi. 18). Mais vous savez en quelle vertu vous avez à batailler: sur laquelle tous ceux qui seront apuyez ne se trouveront jamais estonnez et encore tant moins confus. Ainsi, mes frères, confiez-vous que vous serez fortifiez au besoin de l'Esprit de N. S. Jésus pour ne defaillir sous le faix des tentations, quelque pesant qu'il soit, non plus que lui qui en a eu la victoire si glorieuse, qu'elle nous est un gage infailible de nostre triomphe au milieu de nos misères. Puis qu'il lui plait vous employer jusqu'à la mort à maintenir sa querelle, il vous tiendra la main forte pour batailler constamment, et ne souffrira pas qu'une seule goutte de vostre sang demeure inutile. . . .

**No. 326. First minister and congregation in Paris,
Sept. 1555.**

L'occasion du commencement de ceste Église fut par le moien d'un gentilhomme du Maine nommé le Sieur de la Ferrière, qui s'estoit retiré à Paris avec sa famille, afin d'estre moins recherché à cause de la Religion: et surtout pour ce que sa femme estant enceinte, il ne vouloit que l'enfant que Dieu luy donneroit fust baptisé avec les superstitions et ceremonies acoustumées en l'Église Romaine. Après donc que la Rivière¹ et quelques autres se furent assemblés quelque temps au logis de ce bon gentilhomme, au lieu appellé au Pré aux Clers, pour y faire les prières et quelques lectures de l'Escriture sainte . . . il avint que la damoiselle estant acouchée, la Ferrière requist l'assemblée de ne permettre que l'enfant que Dieu luy avoit donné fust privé du Baptisme par

¹ Jean le Maçon, a native of Angers, called la Rivière: de Bèze, i. 97.

lequel les enfans de Chrestiens doivent estrê consacrés à Dieu, les priant d'eslire entre eux un Ministre, qui peust conférer le Baptisme. Et pour ce que l'assemblée n'y vouloit entendre, il leur remonstra qu'il ne pouvoit en bonne conscience consentir aux meslinges et corruptions du Baptisme de l'Eglise Romaine, qu'il luy estoit impossible d'aller à Genève pour cest effect, et que si l'enfant mouroit sans ceste marque, il auroit extrême regret, et les appelleroit tous devant Dieu, si tant estoit qu'ils ne luy accordassent ce qu'il leur demandoit si justement au nom de Dieu. Ceste tant instante pour suite fut occasion des premiers commencemens de l'Eglise de Paris : ayant esté la Rivière esleu par l'assemblée, après le jeusne et prières en tel cas requises, et lors d'autant plus diligemment et sérieusement pratiquées, que la chose estoit nouvelle en ce lieu-là : et fut aussi dressé quelque petit ordre selon que les petis commencemens le pouvoient porter, par l'establissement d'un Consistoire composé de quelques Anciens et Diacres, qui veilloient sur l'Eglise,¹ le tout au plus près de l'exemple de l'Eglise primitive du temps des Apostres. . . .

No. 327. First National Synod at Paris, 26 May 1559.

Or quelques difficultés qui se présentassent de toutes parts contre les paures fidèles, tant s'en falut pour tout cela, qu'ils perdissent courage, qu'au contraire ce fut en ce temps que Dieu par sa singulière grâce inspira toutes les Eglises Chrestiennes dressées en France, de s'assembler pour s'accorder en unité de doctrine et discipline conformément à la Parole de Dieu. Lors donques, à savoir le 26 de May audict an MDLIX, s'assemblèrent à Paris les deputed de toutes les Eglises establies jusques alors en France : et là d'un commun accord fut escrite la Confession de Foy, ensemble fut dressée la Discipline Ecclesiastique au plus près de l'institution des Apostres, et selon que la circonstance des temps portoit alors : chose vraiment conduite par l'Esprit de Dieu pour maintenir l'union, qui a tousjours perseveré depuis. L'occasion de ceste assemblée fut que sur la fin de l'année précédente MDLVIII estant Antoine de Chandieu envoyé par l'Eglise de Paris à l'Eglise de Poitiers pour quelque affaire, et mesme pour rendre tesmoignage de certain personnage dont ceux de Poitiers estoient en peine, le temps portoit lors que la sainte Cène fust célébrée en ceste Eglise là : ce qui se

¹ Congregations so organized were called *Eglises dressées* by contrast with mere missions, *Eglises plantées*.

fit en très grande assemblée, non seulement de peuple mais aussi de ministres circonvoisins qui s'y trouvèrent : et après la célébration de la Cène, les ministres estans assemblés communiquèrent par ensemble tant de la doctrine, que de l'ordre et discipline entre eux observée, et par les choses qu'ils traittoient commencèrent à appréhender quel bien ce seroit s'il plaisoit à Dieu que toutes les Églises de France dressassent d'un commun accord une Confession de Foy et une Discipline Ecclésiastique. Comme au contraire, cela ne se faisant, les grands maux qui pourroyent survenir, et divisions tant en la doctrine qu'en la discipline, les Églises n'estans liées ensemble, et rengées sous un mesme joug d'ordre et de police ecclésiastique. Partant ceste petite assemblée qui estoit là donna lors charge audict de Chandieu d'en communiquer à l'Église de Paris, pour voir s'il y auroit moien de pouvoir procurer aux Églises un tel bien pour l'advenir, sans lequel elles sembloient estre menacées de beaucoup de confusions. Ce rapport estant fait à l'Église de Paris, après infinies incommodités surmontées, estans les Églises adverties par lettres de ce qui estoit mis en avant touchant le Synode national, pour avoir leur advis, fut conclud que le dit Synode seroit tenu à Paris pour ce commencement, non pour attribuer quelque prééminence ou dignité à ceste Église là, mais pour estre lors la ville plus commode pour recevoir secrettement beaucoup de Ministres et Anciens. Ainsi le Synode se tint à Paris et y furent dressées tant la Confession de Foy que la Discipline Ecclésiastique.

**No. 328. Confession de Foi [Confessio Gallicana],
26 May 1559.**

(a) *The prefatory address to the King.*—Sire, nous rendons grâces à Dieu, de ce que n'ayans eu iusques icy aucun accès à vostre Maiesté, pour luy faire entendre la rigueur des persecutions que nous avons endurées, et endurons iournellement pour vouloir suyvre la pureté de l'Évangile, et le repos de nostre conscience : maintenant il nous fait cet heur de veoir qu'avez la volonté de connoitre le merite de nostre cause, suyvant l'Édit dernier donné à Amboise au moys de Mars, l'an présent 1559, qu'il a pleu à vostre Maiesté faire publier. Qui est la cause qu'à présent nous osons ouvrir la bouche : laquelle nous a esté parci devant fermée par l'iniustice et violence de plusieurs voz officiers, estans plustost incitez de haine contre nous, que de bonne affection à vostre service. Et à fin, Sire, que nous puissions pleinement informer vostre Maiesté de ce qui con-

cerne cette cause, nous vous supplions très-humblement de voir et entendre nostre Confession de Foy, laquelle nous vous présentons : espérans qu'elle nous sera défence suffisante contré tous les blasmes et opprobres, dont iusques icy avons esté chargez à grand tort par ceux qui ont tousiours fait mestier de nous condamner, premier que nostré cause leur fust conneue. En laquelle, Sire, nous pouvons protester qu'il n'y a aucune chose qui repugne à la parole de Dieu, ne qui contrevienne à l'hommage que nous vous devons. Car les articles de nostre Foy qui sont descrits assez au long en nostre Confession, reviennent tous à ce point, que puisque Dieu nous a suffisamment déclaré sa volonté par ses Prophètes et Apostres, et mesmes par la bouche de son fils nostre Seigneur Iésus Christ, nous devons cet honneur et révérence à la parole de Dieu de n'y rien aioutter du nostre : mais de nous conformer entièrement à la reigle qui nous y est prescrite. Et pour ce que l'Eglise Romaine, laissant l'usage et coustume de la primitive Eglise, a introduit nouveaux commandemens et nouvelle forme du service de Dieu : nous estimons estre très-raisonnable de préférer les commandemens de Dieu, qui est la vérité mesme, aux commandemens des hommes : qui de leur nature sont enclins à mensonge et vanité. Et quoy que noz adversaires prétendent à l'encontre de nous, si pouvons nous diré devant Dieu et les hommes, que nous ne souffrons pour autre raison que pour maintenir nostre Seigneur Iésus Christ estre nostre seul Sauveur et Redempteur, et sa doctrine seule doctrine de vie et de salut. Et cette est la seule cause, Sire, pour laquelle les bourreaux ont eu tant de fois les mains souillées du sang de voz pources suiets, lesquels n'espargnent point leurs vies pour maintenir cette mesme Confession de Foy, ont bien peu faire entendre à tous qu'ils estoyent poussez d'autre esprit que de celuy des hommes, qui naturellement ont plus de soucy de leurs repos et commoditez, que de l'honneur et gloire de Dieu. Et partant, Sire, suyvant la bonté et douceur de laquelle promettez user envers voz pources suiets, nous supplions très-humblement vostre Maiesté nous faire cette miséricorde, que de prendre en main la connoissance de la cause, pour laquelle estans poursuyvis à toute heure ou de mort, ou de bannissement, nous perdons par ce moyen la puissance de vous faire le très-humble service que nous vous devons. Qu'il plaise donq à vostre Maiesté, Sire, à lieu des feus et glaives dont on a usé parciavant, faire décider nostre Confession de Foy par la parole de Dieu : donnant permission et seureté pour ce faire.

Et nous espérons que vous-mesmes serez iuge de nostre innocence, connoissant qu'il n'y a en nous ny hérésie, ny rébellion aucune : mais que nous tendons seulement à ce but, de pouvoir vivre en saine conscience, servans à Dieu selon ses commandemens, et honorans vostre Maïesté en toute obéissance et servitude. Et par ce que nous avons nécessairement besoin d'estre, par la prédication de la parole de Dieu, retenus en nostre devoir et office tant envers luy qu'envers vous : nous vous supplions très-humblement, Sire, qu'il nous soit permis d'estre quelquefois assemblez tant pour estre exhortez par la parole de Dieu à sa crainte, que pour estre conformez par l'administration des Sacremens que nostre Seigneur Iésus Christ a instituez en son Église. Et s'il plaist à vostre Maïesté nous donner lieu, auquel un chacun puisse voir ce qui se fait en noz assemblées, la seule veue nous absoudra de l'accusation de tant de crimes énormes, dont nos dittes assemblees ont esté diffamées parci devant. Car on n'y pourra veoir que toute modestie et chasteté, et on n'y pourra ouyr que louange de Dieu, exhortations à son service, et prières pour la conservation de vostre Maïesté et de vostre Royaume. Que s'il ne vous plaist nous faire tant de grâce, au moins qu'il nous soit permis de poursuyvre particulièrement entre nous avec repos l'ordre qui y est estably. Vous supplions très-humblement, Sire, de croire, que oyant lire cette supplication qui vous est maintenant présentée, vous oyez les cris et gémissemens d'une infinité de voz pources suiets qui implorent vostre miséricorde : à ce qu'elle esteigne les feus que la cruauté de voz iuges a allumez en vostre Royaume. Et ainsi qu'il nous soit loisible, servans à vostre Maïesté de servir à celuy qui vous a élevé en vostre dignité et grandeur. Et s'il ne vous plaist, Sire, d'ouyr nostre voix, qu'il vous plaise d'ouyr celle du Fils de Dieu, lequel vous ayant donné puissance sur noz biens, sur noz corps et sur nostre propre vie : vous demande que la puissance et la domination sur noz ames et consciences (lesquelles il s'est acquises au pris de son sang) luy soient réservées. Nous le supplions, Sire, qu'il vous conduise tousiours par son Esprit, accroissant avec vostre âge vostre grandeur et puissance, vous donnant victoire contre tous voz ennemis, establisant pour iamais en toute équité et iustice le throsne de vostre Maïesté : devant laquelle aussi il luy plaise nous faire trouver grâce, pour ressentir quelque fruit de nostre présente supplication, à fin qu'ayans changé noz peines et afflictions à quelque repos et liberté, nous changeons aussi noz pleurs et larmes à une per-

petuelle action de grâces à Dieu, et à vostre Maïesté, pour avoir fait chose à luy très-agréable, très-digne de vostre bonté et iustice, et très-nécessaire pour la conservation de voz plus humbles et plus obéissans suiets et serviteurs.

(b) *From the Confession.*

Art. 4.—Nous cognoissons ces livres estre canoniques, et la reigle très-certaine de nostre Foy non tant par le commun accord et consentement de l'Eglise, que par le tesmoignage et persuasion intérieure du S. Esprit, qui les nous fait discerner d'avec les autres livres Ecclésiastiques. Sur lesquels (encores qu'ils soyent utiles) on ne peut fonder aucun article de Foy.

Art. 5.—Nous croyons que la parole qui est contenue en ces livres est procédée de Dieu, duquel seul elle prend son autorité, et non des hommes. Et d'autant qu'elle est reigle de toute vérité, contenant tout ce qui est nécessaire pour le service de Dieu et nostre salut, il n'est loisible aux hommes, ne mesmes aux Anges d'y adiouster, diminuer ou changer. Dont il s'ensuit que ne l'antiquité, ni les coustumes, ni la multitude, ni la sagesse humaine, ni les iugemens, ni les arrests, ni les édicts, ni les décrets, ni les conciles, ni les visions, ni les miracles, ne doivent estre opposés à icelle Escripture sainte; ains au contraire, toutes choses doivent estre examinées, reiglées et réformées selon icelle. Et suyvant cela, nous advouons les trois Symboles, à savoir des Apostres, de Nice et d'Athanase, pource qu'ils sont conformes à la parole de Dieu.

Art. 6.—Ceste Escripture sainte nous enseigne qu'en ceste seule et simple essence divine, que nous avons confessée, il y a trois personnes, le Père, le Fils, et le S. Esprit : le Père, première cause, principe et origine de toutes choses. Le Fils, sa parole et sapience éternelle. Le saint Esprit, sa vertu, puissance et efficace : le Fils éternellement engendré du Père : le saint Esprit procédant éternellement de tous deux : les trois personnes non confuses, mais distinctes, et toutesfois non divisées, mais d'une mesme essence, éternité, puissance et égalité. Et en cela advouons ce qui a esté déterminé par les Conciles anciens, et détestons toutes sectes et hérésies, qui ont esté reiettées par les saints Docteurs, comme saint Hilaire, saint Athanase, saint Ambroise, saint Cyrille.

Art. 14.—Nous croyons que Jésus Christ, estant la sagesse de Dieu et son Fils éternel, a vestu nostre chair afin d'estre Dieu et homme en une personne, voire homme semblable à

nous, passible en corps et en âme, sinon en tant qu'il a esté pur de toute macule. Et quant à son humanité, qu'il a esté vraye semence d'Abraham et de David, combien qu'il ait esté conceu par la vertu secrète du Saint Esprit. En quoy nous détestons toutes les hérésies qui ont anciennement troublé les Églises : et notamment aussi les imaginations diaboliques de Servet, lequel attribue au Seigneur Iésus une divinité fantastique, d'autant qu'il le dit estre idée et patron de toutes choses, et le nomme Fils personel ou figuratif de Dieu : et finalement luy forge un corps de trois élémens incréés, et par ainsi mesle et destruit toutes les deux natures.

Art. 25.—Or pource que nous ne iouissons de Iésus Christ que par l'Évangile, nous croyons que l'ordre de l'Église, qui a esté établi en son autorité, doit estre sacré et inviolable. Et pourtant que l'Église ne peut consister sinon qu'il y ait des pasteurs qui ayent la charge d'enseigner, lesquels on doit honorer et escouter en révérence quand ils sont deuement appelés, et exercent fidèlement leur office. Non pas que Dieu soit attaché à telles aides ou moyens inférieurs, mais pource qu'il luy plaist nous entretenir sous telle charge et bride. En quoy nous détestons tous fantastiques qui voudroyent bien, entant qu'en eux est, anéantir le ministère et prédication de la parole de Dieu et ses sacremens.

Art. 26.—Nous croyons doncques que nul ne se doit retirer à part, et se contenter de sa personne : mais tous ensemble doivent garder et entretenir l'unité de l'Église, se soumettans à l'instruction commune et au ioug de Iésus Christ : et ce en quelque lieu que ce soit où Dieu aura estably un vray ordre d'Église, encores que les Magistrats et leurs édicts, y soyent contraires, et que tous ceux qui ne s'y rengent ou s'en séparent, contrariant à l'ordonnance de Dieu.

Art. 27.—Toutefois, nous croyons qu'il convient discerner songneusement et avec prudence quelle est la vraye Église, pource que par trop on abuse de ce titre. Nous disons doncques, suyvant la parole de Dieu, que c'est la compagnie des Fidéles, qui s'accordent à suyvre icelle parole, et la pure religion qui en dépend, et qui profitent en icelle tout le temps de leur vie, croissans et se confemans en la crainte de Dieu, selon qu'ils ont besoin de s'avancer et marcher tousiours plus outre. Mesme quoy qu'ils s'efforcent, qu'il leur convient avoir incessamment recours à la rémission de leurs péchez. Néanmoins nous ne nions point que parmi les fidèles il n'y ait des hypocrites et réprouves, desquels la malice ne peut effacer le titre de l'Église.

Art. 28.—Sous ceste créance nous protestons que là où la parole de Dieu n'est receüe, et on ne fait nulle profession de s'assuiettir à icelle, et où il n'y a nul usage des Sacremens, à parler proprement, on ne peut iuger qu'il y ait aucune Église. Pourtant nous condamnons les assemblées de la Papauté, veu que la pure vérité de Dieu en est bannie : esquelles les Sacremens sont corrompus, abastardis, falsifiés, ou anéantis du tout : et esquelles toutes superstitions et idolâtries ont la vogue. Nous tenons doncque tous ceux qui se messent en tels actes, et y communiquent, se séparent et retranchent du corps de Jésus Christ. Toutesfois pource qu'il reste encore quelque petite trace d'Église en la Papauté, et mesme que la substance du Baptesme y est demeurée, ioint que l'efficace et vertu du Baptesme ne dépend de celuy qui l'administre, nous confessons ceux qui y sont baptizez n'avoir besoin d'un second Baptesme. Cependant à cause des corruptions qui y sont, on n'y peut présenter les enfans sans se polluer.

Art. 29.—Quant est de la vraye Église, nous croyons qu'elle doit estre gouvernée selon la police que nostre Seigneur Jésus Christ a establee, c'est qu'il y ait des pasteurs, des surveillans et diacres, à fin que la pureté de doctrine ait son cours : que les vices soyent corrigés et réprimés, et que les pauvres et tous autres affligés soyent secourus en leurs nécessités, et que les assemblées se fassent au nom de Dieu, esquelles grans et petits soyent édifiés.

Art. 30.—Nous croyons tous vrais pasteurs, en quelque lieu qu'ils soyent, avoir mesme autorité et égale puissance sous un seul chef, seul souverain, et seul universel Evesque Jésus Christ. Et pour ceste cause que nulle Église ne doit prétendre aucune domination ou seigneurie sur l'autre.

Art. 31.—Nous croyons que nul ne se doit ingérer de son autorité propre pour gouverner l'Église : mais que cela se doit faire par élection, en tant qu'il est possible, et que Dieu le permet. Laquelle exception nous y adioustons notamment, pource qu'il a fallu quelques fois, et mesmes de nostre temps (auquel l'estat de l'Église estoit interrompu), que Dieu ait suscité gens d'une façon extraordinaire, pour dresser l'Église de nouveau, qui estoit en ruine et désolation. Mais quoy qu'il en soit, nous croyons qu'il se faut tousiours conformer à ceste règle, que tous pasteurs, surveillans et diacres ayent tesmoignage d'estre appelés à leur office.

Art. 32.—Nous croyons aussi qu'il est bon et utile que ceux qui sont esleus pour estre superintendans, advisent entr'eux quel

moyen ils devront tenir pour le régime de tout le corps, et toutesfois qu'ils ne déclinent nullement de ce qui nous en a esté ordonné par nostre Seigneur Iésus Christ. Ce qui n'empesche point qu'il n'y ait quelques ordonnances particulières en chacun lieu, selon que la commodité le requerra.

Art. 33.—Cependant nous excluons toutes inventions humaines et toutes loix qu'on voudroit introduire sous ombre du service de Dieu, par lesquelles on voudroit lier les consciences : mais seulement recevons ce qui se fait et est propre pour nourrir concorde, et tenir chacun depuis le premier iusques au dernier en obéissance. En quoy nous avons à suyvre ce que nostre Seigneur Iésus a déclaré quant à l'excommunication : laquelle nous approuvons et confessons estre nécessaire avec toutes ses appartenances.

Art. 34.—Nous croyons que les Sacremens sont adioustés à la parole pour plus ample confirmation, à fin de nous estre gages et marreaux de la grâce de Dieu, et par ce moyen aider et soulager nostre foy, à cause de l'infirmité et rudesse qui est en nous : et qu'ils sont tellement signes extérieurs que Dieu besongne par iceux en la vertu de son Esprit, à fin de ne nous y rien signifier en vain. Toutesfois nous tenons que toute leur substance et vérité est en Iésus Christ : et si on les en sépare, ce n'est plus rien qu'ombrage et fumée.

Art. 35.—Nous en confessons seulement deux communs à toute l'Eglise : desquels le premier (qui est le Baptisme) nous est donné pour tesmoignage de nostre adoption ; pource que là nous sommes entés au corps de Christ, à fin d'estre lavés et nettoyés par son sang, et puis renouvelés en sainte vie par son Esprit. Nous tenons aussi combien que nous ne soyons baptisés qu'une fois, que le profit qui nous est là signifié s'estend à la vie et à la mort, à fin que nous ayons une signature permanente, que Iésus Christ nous sera tousiours iustice et sanctification. Or, combien que ce soit un Sacrement de foy et de pénitence, néanmoins pource que Dieu reçoit en son Eglise les petis enfans avec leurs pères, nous disons que par l'autorité de Iésus Christ les petis enfans engendrés des fidèles doivent estre baptisés.

Art. 36.—Nous confessons que la sainte Cène (qui est le second Sacrement) nous est tesmoignage de l'unité que nous avons avec Iésus Christ, d'autant qu'il n'est pas seulement une fois mort et ressuscité pour nous, mais aussi nous repaist et nourrit vraiment de sa chair et de son sang, à ce que nous soyons un avec luy, et que sa vie nous soit commune. Or

combien qu'il soit au ciel iusques à ce qu'il vienne pour iuger tout le monde, toutesfois nous croyons que par la vertu secrète et incompréhensible de son Esprit il nous nourrit et vivifie de la substance de son corps et de son sang. Nous tenons bien que cela se fait spirituellement : non pas pour mettre au lieu de l'effect et de la vérité imagination ne pensée, mais d'autant que ce mystère surmonte en sa hautesse la mesure de nostre sens et tout ordre de nature. Bref, pource qu'il est céleste, il ne peut estre appréhendé que par foy.

Art. 37.—Nous croyons, ainsi qu'il a esté dit, que tant en la Cène qu'au Baptisme Dieu nous donne réalement et par effect ce qu'il y figure. Et pourtant nous conioingnons avec les signes la vraye possession et iouissance de ce qui nous est là présenté. Et par ainsi tous ceux qui apportent à la table sacrée de Christ une pure Foy comme un vaisseau, reçoivent vrayement ce que les signes y testifient : c'est que le corps et le sang de Iésus Christ ne servent pas moins de manger et boire à l'âme, que le pain et le vin font au corps.

Art. 38.—Ainsi nous tenons que l'eau estant un élément caduque ne laisse pas de nous testifier en vérité le lavement intérieur de nostre âme au sang de Iésus Christ, par l'efficace de son Esprit : et que le pain et le vin nous estans donnés en la Cène nous servent vrayement de nourriture spirituelle, d'autant qu'ils nous monstrent comme à l'oeil la chair de Iésus Christ nous estre nostre viande, et son sang nostre breuvage. Et reiettons les fantastiques et sacramentaires, qui ne veulent recevoir tels signes et marques, veu que nostre Seigneur Iésus Christ prononce, Ceci est mon corps, et ce calice est mon sang.

Art. 39.—Nous croyons que Dieu veut que le monde soit gouverné par loix et polices, afin qu'il y ait quelques brides pour reprimer les appétits désordonnés du monde. Et ainsi qu'il a estably les royaumes, republicues et toutes autres sortes de principautez, soyent héréditaires ou autrement, et tout ce qui appartient à l'estat de iustice, et en veut estre reconu authœur : à ceste cause a mis le glaive en la main des Magistrats pour reprimer les péchés commis, non seulement contre la seconde table des Commandemens de Dieu, mais aussi contre la première. Il faut doncques à cause de luy, que non seulement on endure que les Supérieurs dominant, mais aussi qu'on les honore et prise en toute révérence, les tenant pour ses lieutenans et officiers, lesquels il a commis pour exercer une charge legitime et sainte.

Art. 40.—Nous tenons doncques qu'il faut obéir à leurs loix

et statuts, payer tributs, imposts et autres devoirs, et* porter le ioug de subiection d'une bonne et franche volonté, encores qu'ils fussent infidèles, moyennant que l'Empire souverain de Dieu demeure en son entier. Par ainsi nous détestons ceux qui voudroyent reietter les supériorités, mettre communauté et confusion de biens, et renverser l'ordre de iustice.

No. 329. La Discipline Ecclésiastique, 25 May 1559.

Art. 1.—Aucune Église ne pourra prétendre primauté ni domination sur l'autre : ni pareillement les Ministres d'une Église les uns sur les autres, ni les Anciens, ou Diacres, les uns sur les autres.

Art. 2.—En chaque Synode il sera élu, d'un commun accord, un Président pour faire avertir des jours et lieux auxquels on s'assemblera, et des sessions du Colloque. Item pour recueillir les voix, et déclarer le plus grand nombre, sur lequel il prononcera toutes les conclusions. Item pour faire qu'un chacun parle en son rang et sans confusion, et pour imposer silence à ceux qui seront trop âpres et contentieux, et pour les faire sortir s'ils ne veulent acquiescer, afin de délibérer sur les censures qu'on trouvera bon de leur faire. Il présidera à toutes les délibérations et fera les remontrances, et les réponses à tous ceux qui demanderont conseil, ou qui enverront des lettres aux Députés du Synode, suivant en tout l'avis d'icelui ; et il sera lui-même sujet aux censures.

Art. 3.—La charge du Président expirera à la fin du Colloque : et il sera en la liberté du Concile suivant d'élire celui-là même ou un autre.

Art. 4.—Les Ministres qui viendront au Concile général, pourront amener un ou deux Anciens ou Diacres, pour le plus, élus par ceux de leur Consistoire, qui auront voix audit Synode. Quant aux Diacres, ou Anciens, du lieu où ledit Synode sera assemblé, ils pourront assister et proposer en leur ordre : toutefois, pour éviter la confusion, il n'y en aura que deux qui auront voix, et nul ne se départira de l'assemblée sans congé.

Art. 5.—Les Conciles généraux s'assembleront selon la nécessité des Églises, et on y fera une censure amiable et fraternelle à tous ceux qui y assisteront ; après laquelle on célébrera la Cène, pour témoigner l'union, non pas seulement entre les seuls Ministres et Anciens desdits Synodes, mais en général avec toute l'Église.

Art. 6.—Les Ministres et un Ancien ou Diacre, pour le moins,

de chaque Église, s'assembleront en chaque Province une fois l'an, pour le moins, et choisiront le tems et le lieu qui leur seront commodes pour le faire.

Art. 7.—Un Ministre ne doit pas être maintenant élu par un seul Ministre avec son Consistoire, mais par deux ou trois Ministres et leurs Consistoires, ou par le Synode Provincial, ou par un Colloque qui s'assemblera, autant qu'il sera possible, dans les lieux où il y a des Églises dressées, et les députés qui y viendront seront présentés au peuple pour y être reçus ; et s'il y a des oppositions, ce sera au Consistoire d'en juger ; mais si le consentement de part et d'autre est refusé, le tout sera rapporté au Synode Provincial, qui connoitra tant de la justification du Ministre que de sa reception, si le Consistoire ou la plupart du peuple y consent.

Art. 8.—Les Ministres ne seront envoyez des autres Églises sans lettres authentiques, ou sans avoir des témoignages suffisans des lieux d'où ils seront envoyez : et si n'étant point envoyez, ils se présentent pour être reçus, ils ne le pourront être, sans qu'il apparaisse dûement comment ils se seront gouvernez, et pour quelles causes ils auront laissé leur Église, et s'il y a opposition, on fera comme il a été dit ci-dessus.

Art. 9.—Ceux qui seront élus signeront la Confession de l'oi entre nous, tant dans les Églises, où ils seront élus que dans les autres où ils seront envoyez : et leur élection sera confirmée par les prières et l'imposition des mains des Ministres ; toutefois sans aucune superstition.

Art. 10.—Ceux qui s'ingéreront au Ministère dans les lieux où quelque Ministre de la Parole de Dieu seroit déjà établi seront suffisamment avertis de s'en desister, et au cas qu'ils n'en veuillent rien faire ils seront déclarés schismatiques : et quant à ceux qui les suivront, on leur fera le même avertissement, et s'ils sont contumaces et obstinés, ils seront aussi déclarés schismatiques.

Art. 11.—S'il arrive que des peuples entre lesquels le Ministère de la Parole ne seroit point établi, aient élu quelque Pasteur, les Églises voisines les solliciteront amiablement et instamment de conférer avec elles, et les exhorteront à signer la Confession de l'oi et l'Ordre de la Discipline arrêtée parmi nous. Et au cas qu'ils ne voulassent ratifier ladite Confession, trois ou quatre Ministres des Églises voisines s'assembleront avec leurs Anciens, pour les déclarer schismatiques, et les fidèles seront avertis de se garder de tels personnages. Mais s'ils refusoient seulement de se soumettre à la Discipline arrêtée

entre nous, ils ne pourront, en ce cas, être réputés schismatiques, jusqu'à ce qu'il en soit ordonné par le Concile Provincial.

Art. 12.—Le Ministre d'une Église ne pourra prêcher dans une autre, sans le consentement du Ministre qui en est en possession : toutefois, en son absence, le Consistoire lui en pourra donner l'autorité. Et si le troupeau étoit dissipé par persécution ou autre trouble ; il tâchera d'assembler les Diacres et Anciens ; ce que ne pouvant faire, il pourra néanmoins prêcher pour réunir le troupeau.

Art. 13.—Celui qui aura consenti d'être élu au Ministère, recevra la charge qui lui sera dénoncée : et à son refus il sera sollicité par des exhortations convenables ; toutefois on ne le pourra contraindre en aucune autre manière.

Art. 14.—Les Ministres qui ne pourront exercer leur charge dans les lieux où ils auront été ordonnés, s'ils sont envoyés ailleurs, par l'avis de l'Église, et n'y veulent pas aller, ils diront leurs causes de refus au Consistoire, et là il sera jugé si elles sont raisonnables ou recevables : que si elles ne le sont pas, et s'ils persistent à ne vouloir accepter ladite charge ; en ce cas le Synode Provincial en ordonnera.

Art. 15.—Celui qui se seroit ingéré au Ministère de la Parole, quoiqu'il fut approuvé de son peuple, ne pourra être approuvé des Ministres voisins ou autres, s'il y a quelque différent sur son approbation dans quelque autre Église : mais avant que de passer outre, le Synode Provincial s'assemblera le plutôt qu'il sera possible pour en décider, à défaut de quoi un Colloque composé de six Ministres pour le moins, pourra décider de ce différent.

Art. 16.—Ceux qui sont une fois élus au Ministère, doivent sçavoir qu'ils sont élus pour être Ministres toute leur vie. Quant à ceux qui sont envoyés pour quelque tems, et auxquels on auroit fait promesse de démission pour certaines causes, il sera avisé de pourvoir l'Église où ils sont, afin qu'ils fassent leurs affaires ; mais si les Églises ne pouvoient pourvoir au troupeau si ce n'est par eux, il ne leur sera point permis d'abandonner l'Église, pour laquelle Jésus Christ est mort.

Art. 17.—Quand un Ministre sera tellement persécuté qu'il ne pourra sans grand danger exercer sa charge dans l'Église où il auroit été ordonné, il se pourra faire donner quelque autre Église pour un tems ; de l'avis et du consentement des deux Églises : et si les Ministres ne veulent pas obéir aux jugemens des Églises, leur cause sera rapportée au prochain Synode Provincial, où il se pourra aussi faire changer pour d'autres causes qui y seront proposées et jugées.

Art. 18.—Nul Pasteur ne pourra laisser son troupeau sans le congé de son Consistoire, ou sans l'approbation des Églises voisines de son département. Toutefois il sera bon en ce cas d'avertir les Églises de secourir leurs Pasteurs et de subvenir à leurs nécessitez et si le secours nécessaire leur étoit refusé après qu'ils en auront fait la demande, il leur sera permis en ce cas de s'unir à une autre Eglise.

Art. 19.—Les nouveaux introduits en l'Église, et spécialement les moines et les prêtres, ne pourront être élus au Ministère sans une longue et diligente inquisition et approbation faite de leur vie et de leur demeure.

Art. 20.—D'autant qu'il n'est licite ni expédient d'aller entendre les sermons des prédicateurs Papistes ou autres, qui seroient introduits sans une légitime vocation, dans les lieux où il n'y a point de Ministère de la Parole dressé, les vrais pasteurs doivent empêcher, autant qu'il leur sera possible, ceux de leur troupeau d'y aller.

Art. 21.—Les Ministres qui enseigneront une mauvaise Doctrine, et qui après avoir été suffisamment avertis, ne s'en désisteront pas, et ceux qui n'obéiront pas aux saintes ordonnances et admonitions prises de la Parole de Dieu, qui leur seront faites par le Consistoire, et ceux qui seront de vie scandaleuse, à sçavoir ceux qui méritent d'être punis par le Magistrat, ou excommuniés par l'Église : ceux aussi, qui seront entièrement incapables de faire leur charge, doivent être déposés, excepté ceux qui par vieillesse, maladie ou quelque autre inconvénient, seront rendus incapables d'exercer leur charge, sans avoir perdu leur honneur, et ils seront recommandés à leurs Églises pour les faire entretenir, et il sera pourvu de quelques autres qui occuperont leur charge.

Art. 22.—Les vices scandaleux et punissables par le Magistrat, comme meurtre et sodomie, crime de lèse Majesté et autres qui rejailliront au grande déshonneur et scandale de l'Église, encore qu'ils eussent été commis par quelqu'un, non seulement avant son élection, mais du tems même de son ignorance, méritent que le Ministre qui en est coupable soit déposé : les autres vices non scandaleux seront remis à la prudence et au jugement du Synode Provincial.

Art. 23.—Si un Ministre est convaincu de crimes énormes et notoires, il sera promptement déposé par le Consistoire, aiant appelé deux ou trois Pasteurs non suspects. Et au cas que le Ministre délinquant se plaint du témoignage rendu contre lui comme d'une calomnie, ses griefs seront rapportés

au Synode Provincial. S'il a prêché ou expliqué quelque doctrine hérétique, il sera promptement suspendu par le Consistoire de deux ou trois Ministres capables d'en juger, en attendant que le Synode Provincial en ait jugé définitivement. Quant aux causes de la déposition, elles ne seront point déclarées au peuple, si la nécessité ne le requiert, de laquelle le Consistoire jugera.

Art. 24.—Les Anciens et Diacres sont le Senat de l'Eglise, auquel doivent présider les Ministres de la Parole. L'office des Anciens sera de faire assembler le peuple, de rapporter les scandales au Consistoire, et autres choses semblables, selon qu'il y aura dans chaque Eglise des formulaires couchez par écrit, selon la coutume des lieux et des tems.

Art 25.—L'office des Anciens, comme nous en usons à présent, n'est pas perpétuel. Quant aux Diacres, leur charge sera de recueillir et distribuer, par l'avis du Consistoire, les deniers des pauvres, des prisonniers et malades : de les visiter et d'aller par les maisons catéchiser ; et au cas qu'il s'en trouve quelqu'un propre, et qui promette de se dédier et consacrer perpétuellement au service de Dieu et au Ministère, alors il pourra être élu par le Consistoire pour catéchiser en public, selon le formulaire reçu en l'Eglise, et cela pour les éprouver, sans qu'ils puissent administrer les Sacremens.

Art. 26.—L'office des autres Diacres n'est pas de catéchiser en public ; et leur charge n'est point perpétuelle : de laquelle toutefois ni eux ni leurs Anciens ne se pourront départir sans le congé de l'Eglise.

Art. 27.—Dans les lieux où l'ordre de l'Eglise n'est point encore dressé, tant les Diacres que les Anciens seront élus par la voix commune du peuple avec leur Pasteur : mais dans ceux où la Discipline seroit déjà dressée, ce sera au Senat de l'Eglise avec leur Ministre de les élire ; après quoi on leur lira les obligations de leur charge, et ils signeront la Confession de Foi arrêtée entre nous ; puis ils seront présentés au peuple, et s'il y a opposition, la cause sera debatue et vidée au Consistoire, et s'ils ne se pouvoient accorder, elle sera renvoyée au Synode Provincial.

Art. 28.—Les Diacres et les Anciens seront déposés pour les mêmes causes que les Ministres de la Parole, en leur qualité, et aiant été condamnés par le Consistoire, s'ils en appellent, ils seront suspendus jusqu'à ce qu'il en soit ordonné par le Synode Provincial.

Art. 29.—Les Ministres ni autres personnes de l'Église ne pourront faire imprimer aucun livre composé par eux, ou par autrui touchant la Religion, ni en publier sur d'autres matières, sans les communiquer à deux ou trois Ministres de la Parole, non suspects.

Art. 30.—Les hérétiques, les contentieux, les contempteurs de Dieu, les rebelles contre le Consistoire, les traîtres contre l'Église : item ceux qui sont atteints et convaincus de crime digne de punition corporelle, ceux qui apportent un grand scandale à toute l'Église, seront du tout excommuniés et retranchés non seulement des Sacremens, mais aussi de toute l'assemblée. Quant aux autres délinquans, ce sera à la prudence de l'Église de connoître ceux qui doivent être admis à la Parole, après avoir été privés des Sacremens.

Art. 31.—Ceux qui auront été excommuniés pour hérésie, ou mépris de Dieu, pour schisme, trahison contre l'Église, rebellion à icelle, et pour d'autres vices grandement scandaleux à toute l'Église ; seront déclarés au peuple pour excommuniés, avec les causes de leur excommunication. Quant à ceux qui auroient été excommuniés pour de plus légères causes, ce sera à la prudence de l'Église d'aviser si elle les devra manifester au peuple, ou non, jusqu'à ce qu'autrement en soit défini par le Concile général.

Art. 32.—Ceux qui auront été excommuniés viendront au Consistoire demander d'être réconciliés à l'Église, laquelle jugera alors de leur pénitence ; et s'ils ont été publiquement déclarés excommuniés, ils feront aussi pénitence publique : s'ils n'ont été publiquement excommuniés, ils la feront seulement devant le Consistoire.

Art. 33.—En tems de grande persécution, de guerre, peste, famine et autre générale affliction, quand on voudra élire des Ministres de la Parole, et quand il sera question d'entrer au Synode, on pourra dénoncer des prières publiques et extraordinaires, avec jeunes, toutefois sans scrupule, ou superstition.

Arts. 34-38.—Les mariages. . .

Art. 39.—Aucune Église ne pourra faire des choses de grande consequence où l'intérêt et le dommage des autres Églises pourront se rencontrer, sans l'avis du Synode Provincial, s'il est possible de l'assembler : et si l'affaire pressoit, elle convoquera et aura l'avis et le consentement des autres Églises de la Province, du moins par des lettres.

Art. 40.—Ces articles qui sont contenus ici touchant la Discipline ne sont tellement arrêtez entre nous que si l'utilité de

l'Église le requiert, ils ne puissent être changés. Mais il ne sera pas au pouvoir d'un particulier de le faire, sans l'avis et le consentement du Concile général.

No. 330. The Report of the Venetian Ambassador in France, 1561.

Unless it otherwise pleases the Almighty, religious affairs will soon be in an evil case in France, because there is not one single province uncontaminated. Indeed in some provinces, such as Normandy, almost the whole of Brittany, Touraine, Poitou, Gascony, and a great part of Languedoc, of Dauphiny, and of Provence, comprising three-fourths of the kingdom, congregations and meetings, which they call assemblies, are held; and in these assemblies they read and preach, according to the rites and usages of Geneva, without any respect either for the ministers of the king or the commandments of the king himself. This contagion has penetrated so deeply that it affects every class of persons, and, what appears more strange, even the ecclesiastical body itself. I do not mean only priests, friars, and nuns, for there are but few monasteries that are not corrupted, but even bishops and many of the principal prelates, who hitherto had not shown any such disposition; and it is only on account of the rigorous execution of the law that other persons besides the populace have not disclosed themselves, because they have restrained themselves for the time being, from fear of the loss of their property and lives. But your Serenity¹ must learn that while the people and the populace show fervent devotion by frequenting the churches and observing the Catholic rites, all other classes are supposed to be disaffected, and the nobility perhaps more than any other class, and, particularly, persons of forty years of age and under.² If these disaffected individuals continue to attend Mass and the Divine Offices, and externally to practise Catholic rites, they do so for show and from fear; because when they either are, or believe themselves to be, unobserved, they avoid and even fly from the Mass above all things, and also from the churches as far as they are able, and more so since it became known that by imprisonment, chastisement, and burnings, no remedy was found. It has now been determined not to proceed against any disaffected

¹ The Doge of Venice.

² The wars with the Empire were over by, 3 April 1559, the Treaty of Cateau-Cambrésis. They had nothing to do, and were often in debt.

persons, unless they venture to preach, persuade, and to take part publicly in congregations and assemblies. All other such persons are allowed to live, and some have been set at liberty, and released from the prisons of Paris and of other parts of the kingdom. A great number of these last have still remained in the kingdom, preaching and speaking publicly, and boasting that they have gained their cause against the Papists, as they delight to style their adversaries; so that, now, every one of them is assured against the fear of being questioned; and there exists thus a silent truce, because whilst formerly all suspected persons had to quit the kingdom, and to retire some to Geneva, some to Germany, and some to England, now they not only do not leave the country, but a large number of those who had already emigrated have returned. It was told me, whilst passing through Geneva on my way to Italy, that, after the death of the king, a great number of gentlemen who had fled thither after the conspiracy of Amboise,¹ had come back to France, and, in particular, M. de Mombrun, who was the author of the late disturbances in Provence and in Dauphiny, and who had been burnt in effigy; besides these, more than fifty others, who are called ministers, were summoned from various parts of France to travel, and teach and preach the 'Word', for thus they term the Gospels, and their own doctrine. Your Serenity will hardly believe the influence and the great power which the principal minister of Geneva, by name Calvin, a Frenchman, and a native of Picardy, possesses in this kingdom; he is a man of extraordinary authority, who by his mode of life, his doctrines, and his writings, rises superior to all the rest; and it is almost impossible to believe the enormous sums of money which are secretly sent to him from France to maintain his power. It is sufficient to add that if God does not interfere, there is great and imminent danger that one of two things will happen in this kingdom: either that the truce, which is desired and sought publicly, will end by the heretics having churches wherein they can preach, read, and perform their rites, according to their doctrine, without hindrance, and in like manner as they obtained churches by command of the late king,² given at Fontainebleau, at the end of August,³ in compliance with a petition presented to him by the Admiral;⁴ or, else, that we shall see an obedience to the

¹ To remove the Guises, 15 March 1560.

² Francis II., 15 Dec. 1560.

³ Edict of Fontainebleau, 26 Aug. 1560.

⁴ Gaspard Coligny, 1516-1572.

Pope and to the Catholic rites enforced, and shall have resort to violence and imbrue our hands in noble blood. For these reasons I foresee a manifest and certain division in the kingdom, and civil war as a consequence; and this will be the cause of the ruin both of the kingdom and of religion, because upon a change in religion a change in the State necessarily follows.

§ 3. THE NETHERLANDS

XXI

THE DUTCH REFORMED, 1559-62

On 26 October 1555 Charles V resigned the crown of the Netherlands to his son Philip II of Spain, 1556-†98. The Emperor left him his debts, his policy of putting down heresy by Edicts and Inquisition, and his scheme for cementing the ecclesiastical unity of the Seventeen Provinces¹ by an enlarged and reconstituted hierarchy - everything, in fact, but his personal popularity. In 1559 [No. 331] **the Venetian Ambassador wrote that Philip was a foreigner to the Netherlands** (*Calendar of State Papers, Venetian*, 1558-80, No. 274). He felt himself so: and at last the Peace of Cateau-Cambrésis, 3 April, set him free to sail, 26 Aug., for Spain. He left the government of the Netherlands in the hands of a Regent and a Minister—his half-sister Margaret Duchess of Parma, a native-born princess, 1521-†86, and the Burgundian Antoine Perrenot de Granvelle, 1517-†86, Bishop of Arras 1538-61. Both were regarded as the representatives of a foreign Sovereign, and both were dependent wholly on his favour. Before his departure, Philip, 24 May, had secured the consent of Paul IV to [No. 332] **the increase of Bishoprics** (*ibid.* No. 75): and by a Bull of 18 Aug. (Raynaldus, *Ann. Eccl.* xv. 40 sqq.) the hierarchy was raised from four to seventeen² sees, with Granvelle at its head (*Calendar*, No. 244) as Cardinal-Archbishop of Mechlin, 1561. There was much to be said for this project as designed to replace a chaos of four dioceses—Utrecht, Arras, Tournai, and Cambrai—which were subject to the foreign metropolitans of Köln and Rheims, by a national hierarchy. But it was resented, and so was the repression. Discontent was of slow growth: but the

¹ These were, in 1543, (a) four duchies: Brabant, Limburg, Luxemburg, Gelderland; (b) seven counties: Flanders, Artois, Hainault, Namur, Zeeland, Holland, Zutphen; (c) five lordships: Friesland, Groningen, Overijssel, Utrecht, Mechlin; and (d) one marquisate: Antwerp.

² These were (a) under Cambrai (Abp.), Arras, Tournai, St. Omer, Namur; (b) under Mechlin (Abp.), Antwerp, Ghent, Bruges, Ypres, Hertogenbosch, Roermond; under (c) Utrecht (Abp.), Haarlem, Deventer, Leeuwarden, and Middelburg.

Calvinists, who now felt the pressure of the Edicts in common with Lutherans, Sacramentaries, and Anabaptists against whom they were originally directed, sought to disarm the hostility of the government by presenting their [No. 333] **Confession de Foi des Eglises Réformées Wallonnes et Flamandes**, 1561 (Schaff, *Creeeds of Evang. Prot. Churches*, 383 sqq.) or **Confessio Belgica** (Niemeyer, 360 sqq.) in which the Anabaptists were specially repudiated. Originally drawn up in French by Guido de Brès, 1522-†67, a Walloon minister, on the basis of the *Confessio Gallicana*, it was sent, in 1562, to Philip for authorization, as the belief of a hundred thousand of his subjects who 'were never found in arms or plotting against their sovereign'. It made no impression on Philip, but it was at once taken into use by the Netherlands in place of the formularies which they had borrowed from the Walloon congregation in London, 1550, and their Superintendent John Laski, 1499-†1560 (*Forma ac Ratio totæ ecclesiastici Ministerii in peregrinorum Ecclesia instituta Londini anno 1550, auctore Io. à Lasco* [1555]: cf. Richter, *Kirchenordnungen*, ii. 99 sqq. and Dixon, *History of the Church of England*, iii. 234 sqq., 424 sq.). When, at last, the Confession was adopted, May 1566, in synod at Antwerp (Brandt, *History of the Reformation in the Low Countries*, i. 142) Calvinistic principles won the day. It was supplemented by the adoption at the Synod of Emden, 4-14 Oct. 1571 (Richter, *Kirchenordnungen*, ii. 339 sqq.) of a polity on the Genevan model as best suited for 'churches under the cross' and of the Heidelberg Catechism, 1574 (Brandt, i. 311). In 1577, by 'certain Canons drawn up and published in the name of the Prince of Orange as Stadtholder and of the States of Holland and Zealand and their Confederates' (q. v. in *ibid.* 318 sqq.), Calvinism made terms with the State.

By this time the whole people had been roused against the tyranny of Spain. The seven northern provinces—Holland, Zealand, Utrecht, Gelderland, Overijssel, Friesland, and Groningen—withdraw in 1579, and eventually won their independence, 1609, as the United Netherlands. They were Calvinist to a man. The remaining ten were reduced to obedience by Alexander Farnese, 1546-†92, Duke of Parma, in a war, 1578-92, which was conducted 'with full consciousness and fixed design as a war of religion'. In every town as it was conquered the Jesuits were settled: and they 'transformed Belgium, which had previously been half-protestant, into one of the most decidedly [Roman] Catholic countries in the world' (Ranke, *Popes*, i. 475).

No. 331. The Venetian Ambassador on Philip II, 1559.

The Catholic king was born in Spain in the month of May 1527. He passed his early days and the greater part of his youth in that kingdom, where either from the custom of the country or by the will of his mother, who was a Portuguese,

he was educated with all the care and respect which could become the son of the greatest Emperor who ever reigned in Christendom and the heir of possessions of such vast magnitude.

Having been brought up after this manner, his Majesty, when he first quitted Spain, passed through Italy and Germany to Flanders, and conveyed a universal impression that he was of a severe and intractable disposition, and therefore he was not much liked by the Italians, thoroughly disliked by the Flemings, and hated by the Germans. Consequently he was first warned by the Cardinal of Trent, then by Queen Mary, and even more effectually by his father, that a character for severity did not become the ruler of various nations and people of various habits and customs. . . .

His efforts are directed not to increase his possessions by war, but to preserve them by peace ; for at the commencement of his reign he made a truce with the king of France, notwithstanding that the Emperor refused his consent, and that the Bishop of Arras publicly condemned it. He regulated the disorders of the ministers of his realms ; he restored the courts of law ; he expedited the grants of favours and the decrees of justice, which the Emperor was accustomed to delay ; he showed liberality towards all persons, and never permitted any one to leave his presence dissatisfied. But when the Emperor, who had by his great reputation for prudence and experience maintained the authority of his son, departed for Spain, his Majesty was too weak to support so great a burden, and soon found himself involved in serious difficulties, which might have overthrown him had he not been aided by fortune, and the imprudence of his enemies. Then, if he had desired to imitate the Emperor, he might have done so by the strength of his power and the prosperity of his fortune, which are most formidable to the world : but although he resembles his father in his features, in his mode of speech, in his observance of religion, and in his kindness and good faith, he is dissimilar in many other respects which constitute the crowning-point of the greatness of Princes. The Emperor delighted in all that pertained to war, but his Majesty has neither knowledge of warlike matters, nor delight in them. The Emperor undertook great expeditions, but these the king avoids. The Emperor planned great designs, and conducted them with dexterity, and to his great benefit ; but the king thinks less of increasing his own power, than of obstructing the power of others. The

Emperor never yielded to threats or to fear, but the king under very small apprehensions has given away states.

The Emperor governed entirely according to his own views, but the king governs according to the views of others, and he has no esteem for any nation except the Spanish; he consorts only with Spaniards, and with these only he takes counsel and governs. Moreover, contrary to the custom of the Emperor, he takes no notice of Italians and Flemings, and least of all Germans, and although he retains the chief men of each nation in his kingdom, still it is observed that he declines to admit any one of them to his secret councils, but keeps them only for affairs of war; and he probably acts thus, not so much because he has a good opinion of them, as to prevent their services being employed by his enemies. For this reason he has never summoned either the Duke of Savoy or the Duke Ottavio to the Council of State, but only to the Council of War, into which all the chief officers, and even the colonels, are admitted. The Duke Ottavio has nicknamed this Council the 'Council of the Populace'.

According to my opinion the kingdom of England will always be in alliance with his Majesty, from fear of being harassed by France, which already possesses Calais and Boulogne this side of England, and the kingdom of Scotland on the other.¹

No. 332. The increase of Bishoprics, 18 Aug. 1559.

(a) *From a note of the Venetian Ambassador, 28 May.*—I hear from the retinue of the Duke of Savoy, and also from the nephew of the French Ambassador, that an attack may be made on Geneva the moment the Duke² is reinstated, both to recover that city, which he alleges belongs to him, as also to deprive the heretics of Italy and France of that convenient seat of refuge. . . .

Four days ago news arrived from Rome that the Pope, at King Philip's request, had consented to free these Provinces

¹ So it seemed in 1559; but, in 1560, Mary, 1542-†87, Queen of France, 1559-60, became by the death of her husband Francis II, 5 Dec., Queen of Scots only; and Elizabeth, by aiding the reforming party to its triumph in Scotland, rid herself from fear of the Scots (*infra*, pp. 686 sqq.).

² Emmanuel Philibert, b. 1528, victor of St. Quentin, 10 Aug. 1557, and reinstated as Duke of Savoy, 1559-†80, by the Peace of Cateau-Cambrésis. The attack on Geneva was staved off, 1564, by treaty between Savoy and Bern. Cf. *Cambr. Mod. Hist.* iii. 405.

from the spiritual jurisdiction of Cologne and Rheims, and to erect in them three archbishoprics and some bishoprics, which gives very great satisfaction here, it being hoped by means of these bishoprics to suppress heresy, which is but too rife. His Majesty will have the nomination of these archbishoprics and bishoprics, with the exception of Cambrai, Mechlin, and Antwerp.

(b) *From a note of the Venetian Ambassador, 6 March 1561.*—

In the Provinces of Flanders the archbishoprics and bishoprics are about to be erected, and King Philip has already nominated certain persons to many of these, and by this time, at Rome, the confirmation will have been made, which it was endeavoured to pass as secretly as possible, lest it be thwarted by the Archbishops of Cologne, Trèves, and Rheims, and by the Bishop of Liège and others who are thus deprived of their respective jurisdictions.

It was intended to attach to each bishop three Doctors of Divinity, by whose counsel the bishops were to provide for all matters concerning religion; to which the Flemings object, lest each bishop should become a tribunal of the Inquisition: and I am assured that in the Council of the Governess one of its chief members said boldly that they had never in the time of the Emperor tolerated the Inquisition in those Provinces, and that they would now still less endure its introduction in this way.

No. 333. The Confessio Belgica, 1561.

Art. 36. De Magistratu.—Nous croyons que notre bon Dieu, à cause de la dépravation du genre humain, a ordonné des Rois, Princes, et Magistrats; voulant que le monde soit gouverné par lois et polices, afin que le débordement des hommes soit réprimé, et que tout se fasse avec bon ordre entre les hommes. Pour cette fin il a mis le glaive dans les mains du Magistrat pour punir les méchants, et maintenir les gens de bien: et non seulement leur office est de prendre garde et veiller sur la police, mais aussi de maintenir le sacré ministère, pour ôter et ruiner toute idolâtrie et faux service de Dieu; pour détruire le royaume de l'antechrist et avancer le royaume de Jésus Christ, faire prêcher la Parole de l'Évangile partout, afin que Dieu soit honoré et servi de chacun, comme il le requiert par sa Parole.

De plus, chacun de quelque qualité, condition, ou état qu'il soit, doit être soumis aux Magistrats, et payer les tributs; les

avoir en honneur et révérence, et leur obéir en toutes choses qui ne sont point contraires à la Parole de Dieu ; priant pour eux en leur oraisons, afin que le Seigneur les veuille diriger en toutes leurs voies, et que nous menions une vie paisible et tranquille en toute piété et honnêteté.

Et sur ceci nous détestons l'erreur des Anabaptistes et autres mutins, et en général de tous ceux qui veulent rejeter les autorités et Magistrats, et renverser la justice, établissant communautés de biens, et confondant l'honnêteté que Dieu a mise entre les hommes.

§ 4. SCOTLAND

XXII

THE OVERTHROW OF THE ANCIENT CHURCH,

1560

Scotland, politically connected with the Continent by a traditional alliance with France, was the one part of the British Isles where Calvinism, imported from the Continent, won a complete triumph. Nowhere else were [No. 334] the corruptions of the Church so deep-seated, and so freely admitted by her best friends, e.g. by Ninian Winzet 1518-†92 (*Certain Tractatus*, i. 4 sqq., published by the Scottish Text Society, 1887-8 : and, for similar evidence, Joseph Robertson, *Statuta Eccl. Scot.* ii. 290, n. 206) : and while this explains her hopeless overthrow and the hatred with which the Calvinists eliminated every vestige of the ancient order, it goes some way towards justifying the new discipline which they set up.

The beginnings of reform, however, are to be connected with the propagation of Lutheran opinions by Patrick Hamilton,¹ 1504-†28, a young layman with noble and even royal blood in his veins, who, after studying at Marburg, 1527, began to preach near Linlithgow till, though 'a heretic with the power of the Hamiltons at his back', he was seized by James Beaton, Archbishop of St. Andrews 1522-†39, and burnt there 27 Feb. 1528. Meanwhile, it had been necessary, 17 July 1525, to [No 335] prohibit Lutheran books by act of Parliament (*Acts of the Parliament of Scotland*, ii. 295) ; and in 1526 Tyndale's New Testament began to find its way to Scottish seaports. The archbishop continued his policy of repression ; but 'the reck of Patrick Hamilton infected all on whom it did blow' ; and when he was succeeded by his able but dissolute² nephew, David Beaton, 1494-†1546, who became Cardinal 1538, Primate 1539, and Legate 1543, an extreme type of reforming opinion came to the fore in George Wishart³ 1513-†46. Wishart sought safety

¹ Cf. A. F. Mitchell, *The Scottish Reformation*, c. ii.

² *ibid.* 292, App. C.

³ *ibid.* c. iv.

first in England, 1538, and then, 1539-40, among the Reformed of Zürich, Basel, and Strassburg. Returning to Scotland, 1543, he brought with him the First Helvetic Confession (Niemeyer, 105 sqq.) a semi-Zwinglian formulary which he afterwards translated (*Wodrow Miscellany*, i. 11 sqq.) to serve as a confession of faith for congregations in Montrose, 1544, and Dundee, 1545. A Communion office, used later on by Knox at Berwick, 1550 (Lorimer, *John Knox and the Church of England*, 290 sqq.) was almost certainly from his hand, being based on that of Zürich, with which he had become acquainted in exile; and Wishart may thus be considered the first to have planted on Scottish soil the Continental Reformation in its Zwinglian form. He was seized at length by Cardinal Beaton, and burnt at St. Andrews, 1 March 1546. But, within three months, the Cardinal himself was murdered, 29 May; and John Knox, 1515-72, who had been with Wishart and was to carry on his work, took refuge, with the assassins, in the Castle of St. Andrews 10 April 1547, where he remained till, on its capitulation to the French, 31 July, he was sent to the galleys in France.

The events that led to his return were the issue of that long rivalry between the English and the French court for ascendancy in Scotland which from, 8 Dec. 1542, [No. 336] the death of James V, 1513-42 (Lindsay of Pittscoltic, *History of Scotland*, bk. xxi, ch. xxxix, ed. S. T. S. i. 407), centred round his daughter Mary, Queen of Scots, 1543-87. On 1 July 1543 the Earl of Arrian, as Regent, concluded the treaty of Greenwich with Henry VIII for her marriage with prince Edward. But relations between the two countries became strained, and, when war ensued, 1544-6, a rival alliance was entered into with France, 1547, by which the Scots were to receive help against the English troops and their Queen to marry the Dauphin. In Aug. 1548 [No. 337] Mary left home, to be educated in France (*Register of the Privy Council of Scotland*, April 1550, i. 88); and, April 1554, the Queen-mother Mary of Guise, 1516-60 became Regent. On 24 April 1558 [No. 338] the Queen of Scots was married to the Dauphin (Lesley, *History of Scotland* [Bannatyne Club] 264 sq.), and so, as wife of Francis II, 1559-60, became Queen of France as well. It seemed as if her uncles the Guises might use her high position to force upon the country of her birth a régime at once foreign and papal.

But the reforming party had made head in the interval. The Council of Edward VI, anxious for allies in Scotland, procured the release of Knox, Feb. 1549; and, 28 Oct. 1552, offered him the bishopric of Rochester (Dixon, iii. 486 n.). But he refused it. [No. 339] The Second Prayer Book of Edward VI was abhorrent to him (*Works*, vi. 11 sq.). On the accession of Mary, he found an asylum, for the most part, at Geneva, 1554-8, and, save for a brief visit to Scotland, Sept. 1555-July 1556, was there when Calvin's influence stood at its height. The soil, meanwhile, was being made ready for its reception into Scotland. On 6 Jan. 1540 [No. 340] James V warned the clergy to put their house in order

(*Letters and Papers of Henry VIII*, 1540, No. 114): and the bishops,¹ under John Hamilton, Archbishop of St. Andrews 1547-171, endeavoured a Catholic reform in their [No. 341] **Synods of Edinburgh**, 1549, 1552, 1559 (Robertson, *Stat. Eccl. Scot.* ii. 81 sqq., 128 sqq., 146 sqq.), and put out, 1552, [No. 342] **Hamilton's Catechism** (T. G. Law, *The Catechism of John Hamilton*) to further it. But it was too late as [No. 343] **popular Ballads** (*Gude and Godlie Ballatis*, 204 sqq., ed. Mitchell, for S. T. S. 1897) of the time shew. 'The Lords of the Congregation' entered, 3 Dec. 1557, into a [No. 344] **Band** (Knox, *Works*, i. 273 sqq.) to 'renounce the congregation of Satan', set up a provisional reform of their own, and sent for Knox. Arriving at Edinburgh, 2 May 1559, he preached with such effect that, 11 May, [No. 345] **in Perth a frenzy of destruction** (*ibid.* vi. 21 sqq.) seized the 'raschall multitude' (*ibid.* i. 322) and civil war followed. With, July-Nov. 1559, [No. 346] **the assistance of England**, arranged between Cecil as paymaster and Knox as middleman (*State Papers of Elizabeth*; *Foreign*, 1558-9, No. 953, and 1559-60, No. 180), the insurgents forced the Regent with her French troops to take refuge in the Castle of Edinburgh, where her death, 11 June 1560, led to, 6 July, [No. 347] **the Treaty of Edinburgh** (Rymer, *Foedera*, xv. 593 sq.), by which French and English troops were both to withdraw, so that the reforming and, as it now appeared, national party was left supreme. Next month [No. 348] **Parliament**, 17 Aug., adopted the Confession of Faith and, 24 Aug., abolished the Papal jurisdiction and the Mass (*Act. Parl. Scot.* ii. 526 sqq.; Knox, *Works*, ii. 121). The ancient faith and worship was thus destroyed; though as yet the hierarchy, apart from the Pope, remained.

No. 334. Ninian Winzet on the corruptions of the Church, 15 Feb. 1562.

... And albeit the time be schort, sumthing of 3our prais man we speik. Bot quhiddir sal we begin 3our commendation and louing at 3our haly lyfes, or at 3oure helthful doctrine, we ar doutsum. Sen 3our godly leving garnisit with chastitie, fasting, prayer, and sobritie, be the worthi frutis tharof (quhat nedis mair), is patent to al man! 3our merchandrice, 3our symonie, 3our glorious estait, 3our solitudine be mariage, efter to haif brocht the baronis to be impis of 3our posteritie, and witnessing in all aiges to cum of 3our godlines, quhay speikis not of it? 3our liberalitie to the pure, 3our magnific collegeis of godly learnit in 3our cumpanie, 3our nurissing of pure studentis of ryche ingynis able efter to reull the Kirk of God

¹ Scotland at this time had thirteen dioceses: St. Andrews (Abprie.), with eight suffragans, Dunkeld, Aberdeen, Moray, Brechin, Dunblane, Ross, Caithness, Orkney; and Glasgow (Abprie.), with three suffragans, Galloway, Argyll, The Isles.

in helthfull teachement, all cuntreis and collegis dois deplore ! 3our godly and circumspect distribution of benefices to your babeis, ignorantis and filthy anis, al Ethnik, Turk, and Iow may lauch at it, that being the special ground of al impietie and division this day within ye, O Scotland ! 3our wyse, saige, and grave familiar servands, void of al vanitie, bodely lustis, and heresie, ar spokin of to 3our prayse, God wate ! 3our dum doctrine in exalting ceremoneis only, without ony declaration of the samin, and, fer mair, keepin in silence the trew Word of God necessar to al manis saluation, and not resisting manifest errours, to the world is knawin ! . . . The speciall rutis of all mischeif we suspect nocht 3our prudent nobilitie to mys-knaw, to be the twa infernal monstres, pryde and auarice, of the quhilkis unhappellie hes upsprung the election of unequalifeit bischopis and utheris pastores in Scotland. And that laitlie, as we can collect within thir hundreth 3eris, in the gret destruction of the trew religioun off Christianis, and in prouocation of Godis wraith contrare us. . . .

**No. 335. The prohibition of Lutheran Books,
17 July 1525.**

Item, it is statute and ordanit that for samekle as the dampnable opun3eounes of heresy are spred in divers cuntreis be the heretik Luthere and his discipillis, and this realm and liegis has fermelie persistit in the halifaith sene the samin was first ressauit be thaim and neuer as 3it admittit ony opun3eounes contrare the Christin faith bot euer has bene clene of all sic filth and vice, therefore that na maner of persoun strangeare that hapnis to arrife with their schippis within ony part of this realm bring with thaim ony bukis or werkis of the said Lutheris his discipillis . . . under the pane of escheting of their schippis and gudis and putting of their persounes in presoun. . . .

**No. 336. The birth of Mary, 2 Dec., Queen of Scots,
and the death of James V, 8 Dec. 1542.**

Be this the post came out of Lythtgow schawing to the king goode tydingis that the quene was deliuerit. The king inquyrit 'wither it was man or woman'. The messenger said 'it was ane fair dochter'. The king ansuerit and said : 'Adew, fair weill, it come wiht ane lase, it will pase wiht ane lase'; and so he recommendit himself to the marcie of Almightye God and spak ane lyttill then frome that tyme fourtht, bot

turnit his bak into his lordis and his face into the wall. . . . In this maner he departit. . . . He turnit him bak and luikit and beheld all his lordis about him and gaif ane lytill smyle and lauchter, syne kissit his hand and offerit the samyn to all his lordis round about him, and thairefter held wpe his handis to God and 3eildit the spreit . . . at Falkland in his awin palice . . .

**No. 337. The education of Mary, Queen of Scots,
in France, April 1550.**

Item—Thereafter the said Master of Erskine shall report to the King [Henry II, of France] how rejoiced the Queen's grace and my Lord Governor were of the news of our Sovereign Lady's welfare, and to hear that the King's Highness was so well contented with her Grace, and that she was so able to increase in virtue, and that the King's Majesty takes such consolation, seeing the beginning of her upbringing to have been so good that he hopes someday to see his son the husband of one of the most virtuous princes that man can desire; beseeching God of his infinite goodness that his Highness may see not only the thing that his noble heart desires, but also that our Sovereign Lady be after this so endued with the graces of God that she may by her birth [offspring] make his Highness to be called the grandfather of one of the most victorious princes in the world, and the King long to reign prosperously over both realms.

**No. 338. The marriage of Mary to the Dauphin,
24 April 1558.**

All things necessary for the marriage of the Queen of Scots with the Dauphin being prepared, and the whole nobility and estates of the realm of France being convened at Paris, upon the 20th day of April 1558, in the great hall of the palace of the Louvre, in presence of King Henry of France, of the Queen his wife, and a great number of cardinals, dukes, earls, bishops, and noblemen, the 'fianzeillis', otherwise called the handfasting [betrothal], was made with great triumph by the Cardinal of Lorraine, betwixt the excellent young Prince Francis, eldest son to the most valiant, courageous, and victorious prince, Henry, King of France, and Mary, Queen, inheritor of the realm of Scotland, one of the fairest, most civil, and virtuous princes of the whole world, with great solemnity, triumph, and banquetting; and upon the next Sunday, being the 24th of April, the marriage was solemnized and completed betwixt

them by the Cardinal of Bourbon, Archbishop of Rouen, in Notre Dame Kirk of Paris; where the Bishop of Paris made a very learned and eloquent sermon, in presence and assistance of the King, Queen, and many prelates, noblemen, ladies, and gentlemen, of all estates and calling, with most excellent triumph, and the heralds crying with loud voices three sundry times, 'Largess'; casting to the people great quantity of gold and silver of all kind of sorts of coin, where there was great tumult of people, every one troubling and pressing others for greediness to get some part of the money. After which there were as great magnifique solemnities used in the Kirk, with as great dignity and reverence as was possible, which being done, they entered into the bishop's palace, where there was a sumptuous and princely dinner prepared for the whole company; and after they had dined, there was used a princely dancing, called the ball royal, to the great comfort and pleasure of all being there present; and how soon the ball was ended, they passed to the great hall of the palace royal, where they supped with so great magnificence, pomp, and triumph, that none of the assistance there had ever seen the like; and there presently was given to the Dauphin the title of King Dauphin, so that he and the Queen were called thereafter King and Queen Dauphin.

No. 339. Knox on the Second Prayer-Book of Edward VI.

From his letter to Mrs. Anna Lock, 6 April 1559.—Our Maister calleth upon his owne, and that with vehemencie, that they depart from Babylon; yea, severelie he threateneth death and damnation to such as, either in forehead or in hand, beare the mark of the Beast. And a portion of his marke are all these dregges of Papistrie which were left in your great Booke of England, any jote whereof will I never counsell any man to use. One jote, I say, of these Diabollicall inventiouns, viz. Crossing in Baptisme; Kneeling at the Lord's table; mum-melling, or singing of the Letanie, *a fulgure et tempestate: a subitanea et improvisa morte*, &c. The whole Order of your Booke appeareth rather to be devised for upholding of massing priests, then for any good instruction which the simple people can thereof receive. Your Sacraments wer ministred, be the most part, without the soule, and be those who to Christ Jesus wer no true ministers; and God grant that so yet they be not. Without the soule I say, they wer ministred,

because they wer ministred without the Word trulie and openlie preached; and your Ministers before, for the most part, were none of Christ's Ministers, but Masse-mumming priests. They wer newlie created singers or sayers of Matins, Evensong, and of Communion; to church, or to purifie women, and to burie the dead with *Commendo cinerem cineri*, &c., whereof no point I find enjoined to Christ's ministers, but onlie to preach Christ Jesus crucified, and to minister the Sacraments in such simplicitie, as from him they had recaved them. . . . With Mr. Parson's pattering of his constrained prayers, and with the massemunging of Mr. Vicar, and of his wicked companions [I will not meddle]. But consider, Sister, what I have affirmed, to wit, that wher Christ Jesus is not preached (marke well that I say, preached), that there hath the Sacrament neither life nor soule; and farther, that I say, none can be a lawful minister of Christ's Sacrament, who first is not a minister of his blessed Word. . . .

. . . England hath refused me; but because, before, it did refuse Christ Jesus, the lesse doe I regard the losse of that familiaritie. And yet have I beene a secret and assured friend to thee, O England, in cases which thyself could not have remedied. . . .

No. 340. King James V's warning to the clergy, 6 Jan. 1540.

From a letter of Sir William Eure to Cromwell, 26 Jan. 1540.—At his meeting with two gentlemen of the King of Scots' Council at Coldstream . . . had divers communings with one of them, Mr Thomas Bellenden . . . touching the stay of the Spirituality in Scotland. . . . On being asked how the King and Council of Scotland were inclined towards the Bishop of Rome or a reformation of the Spirituality, he said James himself and all his temporal Council were much given to the reformation of the clergy—so much so that they had an interlude¹ played last Epiphany before the King and Queen at Linlithgow, all turning upon the naughtiness in religion, the presumption of bishops, the collusion of Spiritual courts called in Scotland the Consistory courts, and misusing of priests. . . . When it was over the king called upon the bishop of Glasgow, being

¹ Sir David Lindsay, 1490-†1555, 'Ane Satyre of the Thrie Estaitis,' publ. for E. E. T. Society, No. 37, in 1869. See too his 'Kittels Confessioun', written 1537-41, in *ibid.* No. 47, 1871. Knox only reaped where Lindsay had sown. Cf. T. G. Law, *Hamilton's Catechism*, p. xii.

Chancellor, and other bishops, exhorting them to reform their manner of living, and saying unless they did so he would send six of the proudest of them to his uncle of England, and as those were ordered so would he order all the rest.¹ The Chancellor replied 'that one word of his Grace's mouth should suffice them to be at commandment', and the king answered angrily 'that he would gladly bestow any words of his mouth that could amend them' . . .

No. 341. The Synods of Edinburgh, 1 Mar.-10 April 1559.

From Articles proponit to the Quene Regent of Scotland be sum temporall Lordis and Barronis, and sent be hir Grace to the haill Prelatis and principallis of the clergie convenit in thair Provinciall Counsell in Edinburgh.

In the first, rememberand that our Sovirane Lord of gud memorie that last deceit, in his lait Actis of Parliament² for the common wele of this realme, thocht necessair to mak ane publict exhortatioun unto my Lordis the Prelatis and rest of the Spirituale Estate for reforming of ther lyvis and for avoyding of the opin sclander that is gevin to the haill Estates throucht the said Spirituale mens ungodly and dissolut lyves: And siclyk remembring in diverss of the lait Provinciale Counsaes haldin within this realm, that poynt has bene treittet of, and sindrie statutis Synodale maid therupon, of the quhilkis nevertheless thar hes folowit nan or litill fruit as yitt, bot rathare the said Estate is deteriorate, nor emends be ony sic persuasion as hes bene hidertills usit: And sin the said Estate is mirror and lantern to the rest, it is maist expedient therefore that thai presentlie condescend to seik reformation of thir lyvis, and for executiing deuly of thair offices, evry ane of them effeiring to thir awin vocation and cure committit unto thaim to do, and naymle that oppin and manifest sins and notour offenscis be forborn and abstenit fra in tyme to cum, *etc.*

Item, that thai provid for prechings and declarings of Goddis Word sinceirly and treuly to be made in every paroch kirk of this realm upon all Sondays and utheris Holie Dayis. . .

¹ Sir James Melville's report runs:—'Wherefore gaif my predecessoris sa many landis and rentes to the Kirk? Was it to mentean halkis, doggis, and hures, to a number of ydle prestis? The King of England burnis, the King of Denmark beheadis you. Bot I sall stik you with this same quhinger' (Robertson, *Stat. Eccl. Scot.* I. cxi, n. 1).

² Of 14 March 1541. Cf. *Act. Parl. Scot.* ii. 370, 'For reforming of Kirkis and Kirkmen.'

Item, that all prechers of the Word of God, or thai be admittit to preach . . . be first examinit deuly . . . if thai be of gud manners and of fitt knowlege. . . .

Item, that thar be na curatis nor vicares . . . maid . . . bot sic as are sufficiently qualifeit to ministar the sacramentis . . . and that thai can distinctly and plainly reid the Catechisme. . . .

Item, that the Common Prayers with Litanies in our vulgar toung be said in evry peroch kirk upon Sondays and uther Haly Dayis efter the Devin service of the Mess, and that the Evening Prayers be said efternein in likwyse.

No. 342. Archbishop Hamilton's Catechism, 1552.

From the Preface.—Efter that the divine providence of God had promovit us to the office of ane Archbischope and general primacie of this kirk of Scotland, we thocht oft tymes, that na thing culd be to God mair plesand, to the christin pepil mair expedient, and to our office mair convenient and consonant, than with all diligence to provide, that the christin pepil (of quhome we have spiritual cure under God) mycht be instructit in the faith and law of God, with ane uniforme and concordant doctrine of Christis religioun, aggreabil in all pointis to the catholyk veritie of halie kirk. . . .

To that effect we have exhibit to yow this present Catechisme : quhairin is contenit brevely and trewly, the sowmme of our christian doctrin, agreand in all pointis to the wordis of halye scripture, trew expositioun of the auld and catholyk doctouris, and in materis of contraversie, agreand to the decisions and determinatiouns of general counsallis, lauchfully gaderit in the halye spreit for the corroboratioun of our faith. . . .

Heirfor it is to yow expedient to use this present Catechisme, first to your awin instruction, remembring quhat is writtin : *Ignorantia mater cunctorum errorum maxime in sacerdotibus vitanda est, qui officium docendi in populo susceperunt.* . . . Secundly, according to the decret maid in our provincial counsale, our will is that ye reid the samyn Catechisme diligently, distinctly and plainly, ilk ane of yow to your awin parochianaris, for thair common instructioun and spiritual edification in the word of God, necessarie of thame to be knawin. . . .

And thairfor everilk sonday and principal halydaie, quhen thair cummis na precheour to tham to schaw thame the word of God, to have this Catechisme usit and reid to thame in steid of preching, quhil God of his gudnes provide ane sufficient

nowmer of catholyk and abil precheouris, quhilk sal be within
few yeiris as we traist in God, to quhom be honour and glore
for evir. Amen.

No. 343. A ballad of c. 1560.

The Paip, that Pagane full of pryde
He hes us blindit lang,
For quhair the blind the blind dois gyde,
Na wounder baith ga wrang;
Lyke Prince and King, he led the Ring
Of all Iniquitie:

Hay trix, tryme go trix, under the grenewod tree.

Bot his abominatioun
The Lord hes brocht to lycht;
His Popische pryde and thrinfald Crowne,
Almaist hes loste thair mycht.
His plak Pardonis ar bot lardonis [deceits]
Of new fund vanitie. Hay trix, &c.
His Cardinallis hes cause to murne,
His Bischoppis borne aback,
His Abbotis gat ane uncouth turne,
Quhen schauelingis went to sack,
With Burges wyffis thay led thair lyues,
And fure [fared] better nor we. Hay trix, &c.
His Carmelitis, and Jacobinis,
His Dominikis had greit do,
His Cordeleris and Augustinis
Sanct Frances [of] ordour to;
Thay sillie Freiris, mony zeiris
With babling blerit our E [eye]. Hay trix, &c.

The blind Bischop, he culd nocht preiche,
For playing with the lassis,
The sillie Freir behulffit to fleiche [flatter]
For almous that he assis [asks]
The Curat his Creid he culd nocht reid,
Schame fall the companie. Hay trix, &c.
The Bischop wald nocht wed ane wyfe,
The Abbot not persew ane,
Thinkand it was ane lustie lyfe,
Ilk day to haif ane new ane,
In euerie place, ane uncouth face,
His lust to satisfie. Hay trix, &c.

The Persoun wald nocht haif ane hure [whore]
 Bot twa, and thay war bony [bonnie],
 The Vicar thocht [though] he was pure [poor]
 Behuifit to haif as mony,
 The pareis Preist, that brutall beist,

Hay trix, &c.

Of lait I saw thir lymmaris [villains] stand,
 Lyke mad men at mischeif,
 Thinking to get the upper hand,
 Thay luke efter releif,

Bot all in vaine, go tell thame plaine,
 That day will neuer be. Hay trix, &c.

O Jesu ! gif thay thocht greit glie
 To se Goddis word downe smorit [smothered],
 The Congregatioun maid to flie,
 Hypocrisie restorit,
 With Messis sung and bellis rung
 To thair Idolatrie ;
 Marie, God thank 3ow, we sall gar brank [curb] yow,
 Befoir that tyme trewlie.

No. 344. The Band of 3 Dec. 1557, and the Resolutions.

(a) *The Band*.—We, perceaving how Sathan in his memberis, the Antichristis of our tyme, cruelly doeth rage, seaking to dounethring and to destroy the Evangell of Christ, and his Congregatioun, aught, according to our bonden deuitie, to stryve in our Maisteris caus, evin unto the death, being certane of the victorie in him. The quhilk our dewitie being weall considered, We do promesse befor the Majestie of God, and his congregatioun, that we (be his grace) shall with all diligence continually apply our hole power, substance, and our verray lyves, to manteane, sett forward, and establish the most blessed word of God and his Congregatioun ; and shall laubour at our possibilitie to have faythfull Ministeris purely and trewlie to minister Christis Evangell and Sacramentes to his people. We shall manteane thame, nuriss thame, and defend thame, the haill congregatioun of Christ, and everie membour thairof, at our haill poweris and waring of our lyves, against Sathan, and all wicked power that does intend tyranny or truble against the foirsaid congregatioun. Onto the quhilk holy woord and congregatioun we do joyne us, and also dois forsaike and

renunce the congregatioun of Sathan, with all the superstitious abominatioun and idolatrie thareof : And moreover, shall declare our selfis manifestlie ennemies thairto, be this oure faithfull promessee befor God, testifeid to his Congregatioun, be our subscriptionis at thir presentis. . . .

(b) *The Resolutions* :—

First, It is thought expedient, devised, and ordeaned, that in all parochines of this Realme the Commoun Prayeris be redd owklike on Sounday, and other festuall dayis, publictlie in the Paroche Kirkis, with the Lessonis of the New and Old Testament, conforme to the ordour of the Book of Common Prayeris ; And yf the curattis of the parochynes be qualified, to cause thame to reid the samyn ; and yf thei be nott, or yf thei refuse, that the maist qualifeid in the parish use and read the same.¹

Secoundly, It is thought necessare, that doctrin, preacheing, and interpretatioun of Scriptures be had and used privatlie in qwyet houssis, without great conventionis of the people tharto, whill afterward that God move the Prince to grant publict preacheing be faithfull and trew ministeris.

No. 345. The destruction at Perth, 11 May 1559.

From a letter of Knox to Mrs. Anna Lock, 23 June 1559.—Yee hunger, I doubt not, deir Sister, to know the successe of Christ's Evangell, the things that have come to passe since my arrivall, and my expectatioun in this interprise, dangerous indeid and verie strange to worldlie men, if ye sall understand the proceedings of our Brether, the true professors of Jesus Christ, since the time that they declared themselves enemies to Antichrist. After diverse requeists made to the Queene Regent by some of the nobilitie, some barouns, and some communalitie ; and after manie faire promises of her part, and yit nothing meaned by her (as the end did declare) but craft and deceate ; the whole Brethrein together did consent, that the ministrie of the Word of God, and administratioun of the Sacraments, sould be erected ; and that idolatrie sould be repressed, where the most part of the people sould admitt reformatioun. And so

¹ Cecil writing to Throckmorton, 9 July 1559, says :—'The Protestants are at Edinburgh, where Lord Arskyn, one of them, has the charge of the castle. They, without violence, dissolve religious houses, directing their lands to the Crown and to ministry in the Church. The parish churches they deliver of altars and images, and receive the service of the Church of England according to King Edward's book' (*Cal. State Papers, Elizabeth, Foreign*, 1558-9, No. 962).

was the kirk of Dundie reformed before my arrivall; publict prayers were in other places, which thing did so stirre the adversaries, that the preachers were summouned by the authoritie to answere, as criminall, before a civill judge. The day of their appearance was the 10th of May 1559, which was the 8th day after my arrivall. Being moved in conscience to give confessionne with my brethrein, after the rest of one day in Edinburgh, I prepared my self to repaire toward them; and so, upoun the third day after, I came to Dundie, where a great assemblie of brethrein was, for consultatioun what was most expedient in that doubtfull case. The conclusioun was, that the whole multitude and number of brethrein sould accompanie their preachers, and give confessionne of their faith with them; and so from Dundie, they departed to Sanct Johnstoun [Perth], whilk late before had receaved the Order of Common Prayers. But least that such a multitude might have engendered some suspicioun of resistance and rebellious against the authoritie, one of the most grave and most wise barouns was directed to the Queene Regent with declaration of our mindes; which being understand by the Queene and her Counsell, it was required of us that the multitude sould stay, and not come to Stirling, which place was appointed to the preachers to compeir: and so sould no extremitie be used, but the summounds sould be continued till farther advisement; which being glaidlie granted of us, some of the brethrein returned to their dwelling-places. But the Queene and her Counsell, nothing mindefull of her and their promise, incontinent did call the preachers, and for laike of comperance, did exile and putt them and their assistants to the horne; which deceate being spied, the brethrein soght the nixt remedie.¹ And first, after complaint and appellatioun frome such a deceitfull sentence, they putt to their hands to reformatioun in Sanct Johnstoun, where the places of idolatrie of Gray and Blacke Friars, and of Charter-house monkes, were made equall with the ground; all monuments of idolatrie, that could be apprehended, consumed with fire; and preests commanded, under paine of death, to desist frome their blasphemous masse. . . .

No. 346. The assistance of England, July to Nov. 1559.

(a) *From Sir William Cecil to Sir James Croft, Governor of Berwick, 8 July 1559.*—Has received, this 6th of July, his letter

¹ In his *History of the Reformation*, Knox puts the responsibility on to 'the raschall multitude', who 'began to seak some spoile' (*Works*, i. 322).

of the 1st inst., with a schedule therein contained of intelligence of the Scottish Queen's coming to Dunbar. . . . Wishes his neighbours were advertised that the Earl of Arran is departed out of France, and that the French king means to send an army thither, viz. 200 men at arms and 30 ensigns of footmen. The Protestants there shall be essayed with all fair promises first, next with money, and last with arms. Wisdom is to provide for the worst. He may keep them in comfort that this realm neither may nor will see them ruined. Desires him to endeavour to kindle the fire, for if it should be quenched the opportunity thereof would not arrive in their lives. What the Protestants mean to do should be done with all speed, for it will be too late when the French power comes. . . .

(b) *Minute as to the Garrisons of Scotland, 4 Nov. 1559.*

1. A general contribution and benevolence of all noblemen, gentlemen, burghs, and towns; and a taxation upon the kirk lands, and also the whole profits of such kirk lands as be against the Congregation, to be levied.

2. Of this a perfect book to be made, and men appointed in every county for the collection of the same, out of which certain money to be allotted for their charges.

3. Some to be appointed to have receipt of the treasure and make payments to the garrisons, or for munitions or necessities, by warrant signed by the Lords, or three of them, whereof the Duke, the Earl of Arran, or the Prior of St. Andrews to be one.

4. Knox to be a counsel with the payments to see that they be employed to the common action.

5. The treasure to be kept secret, and that all such money as they shall spend in this common action may seem to grow and be levied only by the means above said.

(c) *Parker, Archbishop Elect of Canterbury, to Cecil, 6 Nov. 1559.*—God keep us from such visitation as Knockes have attempted in Scotland; the people to be orderers of things!

No. 347. The Treaty of Edinburgh, 6 July 1560.

Item, conventum concordatum et conclusum est quod omnes copiae militares, tam maritimae quam terrestres, utriusque partis ex regno Scotiae discedent. . . .

. . . Statutum pactum et conventum est quod dictus Rex Christianissimus et Regina Maria et uterque eorum abstinebunt deinceps a dicto titulo atque insignibus regni Angliae vel Hiberniae utendis vel gerendis, prohibebunt etiam ac interdicerent suis subditis ne quis in regno Franciae et Scotiae atque

eorum provinciis sive in aliqua parte eorum, quovis modo utatur dictis titulo aut insignibus, interdicerent etiam ac prae-stabunt quantum in ipsis erit, ne quis aliquo modo dicta insignia cum insignibus dictorum regnorum Franciae aut Scotiae commisceat.

**No. 348. Parliament alters faith and worship,
17-24 August 1560.**

(a) *xvii Die Augusti*.—The Confessioun of fayth professed & beleved be the protestantis within the realme of Scotland, publischeit be thame in parliament and be the estaitis thair of ratifeit and apprevit as hailsome and sound doctrine groundit upoune the infallibill trewth of God's word.

[*Here follows the Confession of Faith.*]

Thir actis and articklis ar red in the face of Parliament and ratifyt be the thre estatis of this realme at Edinburgh the sevintene day of August, the 3eir of God MDLX.

(b) *From Knox's History of the Reformation, Book III.*—This oure Confessioun was publictlic red, first in audience of the Lordis of Articles, and after in audience of the hail Parliament; whair war present, not onlie suche as professed Christ Jesus, but also a great number of the adversaries of our religioun, suche as the foirnamed Bischoppis, and some others of the Temporall Estate, who war commanded in Goddis name to object, yf thei could, any thing against that doctrine . . . and the vottis of everie man war requyred accordinglie. Of the Temporall Estate onlie voted in the contrair, the Erle of Atholl, the Lordis Somervail and Borthwik; and yit for thair disas-senting thei produced no bettir reassone, but, 'We will beleve as oure fatheris beleved'. The Bischoppis (Papisticall, we meane) spack nothing. The rest of the hail thre Estaitis, by thair publict votes, affirmed the doctrine; and many, the rather, becaus that the Bischoppis wold nor durst say nothing in the contrair; for this was the vote of the Erle Merschell¹.—'It is long since I have had some favour unto the trewth, and since that I have had a suspitioun of the Papisticall religioun; but, I praise my God, this day hes fully resolved me in the one and the other. For seing that my Lordis Bischoppis, who for thair lear[n]ing can, and for the zeall that thei should bear to the veritie, wold, as I suppose, ganesay any thing that directlie repugnes to the veritie of God; seing, I say, my Lordis

¹ William Keith, fourth Earl Marischall, †1581.

Bischoppis heir present speakis nothing in the contrair of the doctrine proponed, I can nott but hold it to be the verie trewth of God, and the contrarie to be deceavable doctrine. And thairfoir, so far as in me lyeth, I approve the one and dampne the other: And do farther ask of God, that not onlie I, but also all my posteritie, may enjoy the comforte of the doctrin that this day our earis have hearde. And yitt more, I man vote, as it war by way of protestatioun, that yf any persones ecclesiasticall shall after this oppone thame selfis to this our Confessioun, that thei have no place nor credite, considdering that thei having long advisement, and full knawledge of this oure Confessioun, none is now found in lauchfull, free, and quyetie Parliament to oppone thame selfis to that whiche we professe: And thairfoir, yf any of this generatioun pretend to do it after this, I protest he be repute rather one that loveth his awin commoditie and the glorie of the world, than the trewth of God, and the salvatioun of menis saullis.'

(c) *xxiv Die Augusti.*

(a) In the Parliament haldin at Edinburgh . . . upoun the twenty-four day of the . . . monethe of August, the thre Estaitis then being present, understanding that the jurisdictione and autoritie of the bischope of Rome callit the paip usit within this realme in tymes bipast hes been verray hurtful and prejudiciall to our Soveranis autoritie and commone weill of this realme, thairfoir hes statute & ordanit that the bischope of Rome haif na Jurisdiction nor autoritie within this realme in tymes cuming, and that nane of our saidis Soveranis subjectis of this realme sute or desire in ony tyme heireftir title or rycht be the said bischope of Rome or his sait [sect] to ony thing within this realme under the panis of barratrye, that is to say proscriptioun banishment and nevir to bruke honour office nor dignitie within this realme: And the controvenaris heirof to be callit befor the Justice or his deputis or befor the Lordis of Session and punist thairfoir conforme to the Lawis of this realme: And the furnissaris of thame with fynance of money and purchessaris of thair title of rycht or manteanaris or defendaris of thame sall incur the same panis: And that na bishop nor uther prelat of this realme use ony Jurisdiction in tymes to cum be the said bishop of Romeis autoritie under the pane foirsaid.

(β) The quhilk day forsamekle as Almightie God be his maist trew and blissit word hes declarit the reverence and honour quhilk suld be gevin to him and be his sone Jesus

Christ hes declarit the trew use of the Sacramentis, willing the same to be usit according to his will and word; be the quhilk it is notoure and perfitlie knawin that the sacramentis of baptisme and of the body and blude of Jesus Chryst hes bene in all tymes bipast corruptit be the papistical kirk and be thair usurpit ministeris: And presentlie notwithstanding the reformatioun already maid according to Goddis worde, zit nottheless thair is sum of the same papis kirk that stubburnlie perseveris in thair wickit Idolatrie, sayand Messe, and baptizand conforme to the papis kirk, prophanand thairthrow the sacramentis foirsaidis in quiet and secreit places, regardand thairthrow nather God nor his holie Word: Thairfoir it is statute and ordanit in this present Parliament that na maner of persone or personis in ony tymes cuming administrat ony of the sacramentis foirsaidis secreitlie or in ony uther maner of way bot thai that ar admittit and havand power to that effecte and that na maner of person nor personis say Messe, nor zit heir Messe, nor be present thairat under the pane of confiscatioun of all thair gudis movable and unmovable and puneissing of thair bodeis at the discretioun of the magistrat, within quhais Jurisdictione sik personis happynnis to be apprehendit, for the first falt; banissing of the Realme for the second falt, and justifying to the deid, for the thrid falt. And ordanis all Schireffs, stewartis, baillies, and thair deputis, provestis and baillies of burrowis and utheris jugeis quhatsumever within this realme to tak diligent sute and Inquisition within thair boundis quhair ony sik usurpit ministerie is usit Messe saying or thai that beis present at the doing thairof, ratifyand and apprevand the samyn, and tak and apprehend thame to the effect that the panis abovewrittin may be execute upoun thame.

XXIII

THE NEW FAITH, DISCIPLINE, AND WORSHIP,

1560-4

These are contained in three documents, the first of which was, 1560 [No. 349] the *Confession of Faith* (W. Dunlop, *Collection of Confessions of Faith*, ii. 13 sqq.; Knox, *Works*, ii. 93 sqq.; Schaff, *Creeeds of Evang. Prot. Churches*, 437 sqq. Cf. Mitchell, *The Scottish Reformation*, c. vi). It was presented to Parliament, and sanctioned 17 Aug.; and Knox had the chief hand in its composition, as may be gathered both from its vigour and from 'the unmeasured language of vituperation' (Mitchell, 120) with which it assails that

'filthie synagogue' and 'horrible harlot, the Kirk malignant'¹ [*Art.* 18]. But much of its language can be traced to Calvin's Institutes, the Genevan Confessions, and the *Summa Doctrinae* of John Laski (*Opera*, ii. 294 sqq. ed. Kuyper). Orthodox enough on the Trinity and the Incarnation, the Old Scots Confession betrays its origin in asserting that 'the image of God was utterlie defaced in man' [*Art.* 3]; that the true Kirk is invisible, consisting only of the elect [*Art.* 16], and has for its notes not 'antiquitie, title usurpit, lineal descence', but 'the trew preaching of the Wörde of God... the right administration of the Sacraments' and 'ecclesiastical discipline uprightlie ministred' [*Art.* 18]. The Confession remained the standard of doctrine in the Kirk under both the Presbyterian and the Episcopal régime to 1647, when it was superseded by the *Westminster Confession* (Dunlop, i. 1 sqq.; Schaff, *Credentials*, &c. 600 sqq.).

Next followed, from the same hands, 1560 [No. 350] the **First Book of Discipline** (Dunlop, ii. 515 sqq.; Knox, *Works*, ii. 183 sqq.; cf. Mitchell, c. viii) under nine heads. In sketching the only Scriptural polity, it starts from the position, already adopted by the *Book of Common Order*, 1556, from Calvin's *Ordonnances ecclésiastiques* (*supra*, No. 302) of 1541, to the effect that the permanent office-bearers are four—Pastors, Doctors, Elders, and Deacons (*B. C. O.* 13 sqq., ed. G. W. Sprott, 1901). It is necessary, however, 'to make difference betwixt preachers at this time' (Fifth Head; Dunlop, ii. 539): and provision is accordingly made for Superintendents; the shadows, but only the shadows, of the Catholic episcopate. As to the 'admission of ministers', it is laid down that 'it is neither the clipping of their crownes, the greasing of their fingers, nor the blowing of the dumb dogges called the Bishops, neither the laying on of their hands, that maketh true ministers of Christ Jesus. But... the nomination of the people, the examination of the learned, and publick admission... make men lawfull ministers' (Ninth Head, ii. 603); nor is any a lawful minister but a preacher, for the Sacraments cannot be 'rightlie ministred by him, in whose mouth God hath put no sermon of exhortation' (Fourth Head, ii. 530). The book, in short, rejects the traditional, revives the Ephesian², and leaves a loophole for the charismatic ministry. It displays as great a zeal for education (Fifth Head, ii. 547 sqq.) as for Discipline (Seventh Head, ii. 568 sqq.): and the latter was regulated by an *Order of Excommunication and of Public Repentance* (Knox, *Works*, vi. 447 sqq.; Sprott, *B. C. O.* 35 sqq.), sanctioned in 1569 and abridged by Knox from similar formularies of John Laski (*Forma ac Ratio tota Ecclesiastici Ministerii in Opera*, ii. 184 sqq., 194 sqq.). [No. 351] **The Book of Common**

¹ = *ecclesia malignantium*, Ps. xxv. [xxvi.] 5—a designation which Knox had adopted in his dispute with Friar Arbuckill, 1547 (*Works*, i. 200).

² 'In some editions of the Genevan Version the word "eldership" is thus explained in the margin: "Under this name he containeth the whole ministerie of the Church which was at Ephesus"' (Mitchell, 232, n. 1).

Order (G. W. Sprott; *Book of Common Order*; Dunlop, ii. 383 sqq.; Knox, *Works*, vi. 275 sqq.; cf. Mitchell, c. vii) was authorized by the General Assembly, 1564, and completed the ecclesiastical reconstruction. In the First Book of Discipline, it is cited as 'the Order of Geneva' (Dunlop, ii. 520), and was used, 1556, by Knox's congregation there (Knox, *Works*, iv. 141 sqq.), though the first draft of it was made for the English congregation at Frankfort, on the basis of Farel's and Calvin's services as modified by the *Liturgia Sacra* [23 Feb. 1551] of Pollanus, the successor of Calvin at Strassburg. Commonly known as *Knox's Liturgy*, it is in part a guide or model like its originals, and the minister was free at points to substitute for its *ipsissima verba* others 'like in effect' (Dunlop, ii. 417). It embodied the rule of the Kirk as to worship from 1564 to 1645, when it was superseded by *The Westminster Directory* (ed. Leishman: cf. Sprott, *B. C. O.*, p. xx), as Calvin's Catechism (Dunlop, ii. 139 sqq.) and the Heidelberg Catechism hitherto in use in Scotland (*ibid.* 273) by the *Westminster Catechisms*, *Larger* (*ibid.* i. 161 sqq.) and *Shorter* (*ibid.* 395 sqq.).

Thus the new system was alike continental in origin and revolutionary in design. Its authors were men who regarded themselves as committed 'to that same warre' against the ancient church 'which God commanded Israel to execute against the Canaanites'. After the death of Knox, 24 Nov. 1572 (Mitchell, c. ix), a *Second Book of Discipline* (Dunlop, ii. 757 sqq.), 1578, and a *Second Confession of Faith* (*ibid.* ii. 103 sqq., and, in Latin, 811 sqq.; Schaff, *Creeks, &c.* 480 sqq.), 1581, were put forth (cf. Mitchell, c. x). The one, drawn up by Andrew Melville, 1545-1622, riveted a stricter Presbyterianism on the Scottish people; the other was a fresh declaration against 'that Romane Antichrist . . . his devilish Messe, his blasphemous Priesthead . . . his erroneous and bloodie Decrees made at Trente . . .' Excepting for the readmission of 'imposition of hands of the Elderschip' (Dunlop, ii. 769) at Ordination, the *First Book of Discipline*, so far from being improved by the *Second*, was 'narrowed, and the whole system stiffened' (Mitchell, 216). In 1592 Parliament gave its sanction to the Calvinistic Presbyterianism thus finally set up (*Act. Parl. Scot.* iii. 541 sq.).

No. 349. The First Confession of Faith, 1560.

Art. 3: Of original sinne.—Be quhilk transgressioun, commonlie called Original sinne, wes the Image of God utterlie defaced in man, and he and his posteritie of nature become eninies to God, slaves to Sathan, and servandis unto sin. In samekle that deith everlasting hes had, and sall have power and dominion over all that have not been, ar not, or sal not be regenerate from above: quhilk regeneratioun is wrocht be the power of the holie Gost, working in the hartes of the elect of God, and assured faith in the promise of God, reveiled to us

in his Word, be quhilk faith we apprehend Christ Jesus, with the graces and benefites promised in him.

Art. 16: Of the Kirk.—As we beleve in ane God, Father, Sonne, and halie Ghaist; sa do we maist constantly belevee, that from the beginning there hes bene and now is, and to the end of the warld sall be, ane kirk, that is to say, ane company and multitude of men chosen of God, who richtly worship and imbrace him be trew faith in Christ Jesus, quha is the only head of the same kirk, quhilk alsua is the bodie and spouse of Christ Jesus, quhilk kirk is catholike, that is, universal, because it containis the elect of all ages, of all realmes, nations, and tongues, be they of the Jewes, or be they of the Gentiles, quha have communion and societie with God the Father, and with his Son Christ Jesus, throw the sanctificatioun of his haly Spirit: and therefore it is called the communion, not of prophane persounes, bot of sainets, quha as citizenis of the heavenly Jerusalem, have the fruitioun of the maist inestimable benefites, to wit, of ane God, ane Lord Jesus, ane faith, and ane baptisme: out of the quhilk kirk, there is nouthier lyfe, nor eternall felicitie. And therefore we utterly abhorre the blasphemie of them that affirme, that men quhilk live according to equitie and justice, sal be saved, quhat Religioun that ever they have professed. For as without Christ Jesus there is nouthier life nor salvation; so sal there nane be participant therof, bot sik as the Father hes given unto his Sonne Christ Jesus, and they that in time cum unto him, avowe his doctrine, and beleve into him; we comprehend the children with the faithfull parentes. This Kirk is invisible, knawen onelie to God, quha alane knawis whome he hes chosen, and comprehends as weill (as said is) the elect that be departed, commonlie called the Kirk Triumphant, and they that 3it live and fecht against sinne and Sathan, as sall live hereafter.

Art. 18: Of the notis, be the quhilk the trewe Kirk is decernit fra the false, and quha sall be judge of the doctrine.—Because that Sathan from the beginning, hes laboured to deck his pestilent Synagoge with the title of the Kirk of God, and hes inflamed the hertes of cruell murtherers, to persecute, trouble and molest the trewe Kirk and members thereof, as Cain did Abell, Ismael Isaac, Esau Jacob, and the haill Priesthead of the Jewes Christ Jesus himselfe, and his Apostles after him. It is ane thing maist requisite, that the true Kirk be decerned fra the filthie Synagogues, be cleare and perfite notes, least we, being deceived, receive and imbrace, to our awin condemnatioun, the ane for the uther. The

notes, signes, and assured takens whereby the immaculate Spouse of Christ Jesus is knawen fra the horrible harlot, the Kirk malignant, we affirme, are nouthier antiquitie, title usurpit, lineal descence, place appointed, nor multitude of men approving ane error; for Cain, in age and title, was preferred to Abel and Seth: Jerusalem had prerogative above all places of the eird, where alsua were the Priests lineally descended fra Aaron; and greater number followed the Scribes, Pharisies, and Priestes, then unfainedly beleaved and approved Christ Jesus and his doctrine: and zit, as we suppose, no man of sound judgment will grant, that ony of the forenamed were the Kirk of God. The notes therefore of the trew Kirk of God we belceve, confesse, and avow to be, first, the trew preaching of the worde of God, into the quhilk God hes revealed himselfe unto us, as the writings of the Prophets and Apostles dois declair. Secundly, the right administration of the Sacraments of Christ Jesus, quhilk man be annexed unto the word and promise of God, to seale and confirme the same in our hearts. Last, ecclesiastical discipline uprightlie ministred, as Goddis worde prescribes, whereby vice is repressed, and vertew nurished. Wheresoever then thir former notes are seene, and of ony time continue (be the number never so fewe, about two or three) there, without all doubt, is the trew Kirk of Christ, who, according unto his promise, is in the middis of them. Not that universall, of quhilk we have before spoken, bot particular, sik as wes in Corinthus, Galatia, Ephesus, and uther places, in quhilk the ministrie wes planted be Paull, and were of himself named the kirks of God: and sik kirks, we the inhabitantis of the Realme of Scotland, professoris of Christ Jesus, professis ourselvis to have in our cities, townes, and places, reformed, for the doctrine taucht in our Kirkis, contained in the writen worde of God, to wit in the buiks of the auld and new Testamentis, in those buiks we meane, quhilk of the ancient have been reputed canonicall. In the quhilk we affirme, that all thingis necessary to be beleaved for the salvation of mankinde, is sufficiently expressed. The interpretation quhairof, we confesse, neither appertaines to private nor publick persone, nether zit to ony Kirk, for ony preheminance or prerogative, personallie or locallie, quhilk ane hes above ane uther, bot apperteines to the Spirite of God, be he quhilk also the Scripture was written. When controversie then happines, for the right understanding of ony place or sentence of Scripture, or for the reformation of ony abuse within the Kirk of God, we ought not sa meikle to luke what

men before us have said or done, as unto that quhilk the halie Ghaist uniformelic speakes within the body of the Scriptures, and unto that quhilk Christ Jesus himselfe did, and commanded to be done. For this is ane thing universallie granted, that the Spirite of God, quhilk is the Spirite of unitie, is in nathing contrarious unto himselfe. Gif then the interpretation, determination, or sentence of ony Doctor, Kirk, or Councell, repugne to the plaine worde of God, written in ony uther place of the Scripture, it is a thing maist certaine, that there is not the true understanding and meaning of the haly Ghaist, although that Councils, Realmes, and Nations have approved and received the same. For we dare non receive or admit ony interpretation quhilk repugnes to ony principall point of our faith, or to ony uther plaine text of Scripture, or 3it unto the rule of charitie.

No. 350. The First Book of Discipline, 20 May 1560.

The Fourth Head, concerning Ministers and their lawfull Election.

Cap. iv, § 1. In a Church reformed, or tending to Reformation, none ought to presume either to preach, or yet to minister the Sacraments, till that orderly they be called to the same. Ordinarie vocation consisteth in election, examination, and admission. . . .

The Ninth Head, concerning the Policie of the Kirk.

Cap. xvi, § 3. The papisticall Priests have neither power nor authoritie to minister the Sacraments of Christ Jesus, because that in their mouth is not the sermon of exhortation; and therefore to them must strait inhibition be made, notwithstanding any usurpation they have made in the time of blindness, not to presume upon the like hereafter, as likewise to all others who are not lawfully called to the holy Ministry, it is neither the clipping of their crownes, the greasing of their fingers, nor the blowing of the dumb dogges called the Bishops, neither the laying on of their hands that maketh true Ministers of Christ Jesus: but the Spirit of God inwardly first moving the heart to seeke to enter in the holy calling for Christ's glory and the profite of his Kirk, and thereafter the nomination of the people, the examination of the learned, and publick admission as before is said, make men lawfull Ministers of the Word and Sacraments. We speak of the ordinarie vocation in Kirks

reformed; and not of that which is extraordinary, when God by himselfe and by his onely power, raiseth up to the Ministerie such as best pleaseth his Wisedome.

No. 351. The Book of Common Order, 1564.

THE ORDER OF PUBLIC WORSHIP.

CHAP. VIII. PRAYERS BEFORE AND AFTER SERMON.

When the Congregation is assembled at the hour appointed, the Minister useth this confession, or like in effect, exhorting the people diligently to examine themselves, following in their hearts the tenor of his words.

THE CONFESSION OF OUR SINS.

O ETERNAL GOD and most merciful Father, we confess and acknowledge here before Thy Divine Majesty, that we are miserable sinners, conceived and born in sin and iniquity, so that in us there is no goodness; for the flesh evermore rebelleth against the Spirit, whereby we continually transgress Thy holy precepts and commandments, and so do purchase to ourselves, through Thy just judgement, death and damnation. Notwithstanding, O heavenly Father, forasmuch as we are displeased with ourselves for the sins that we have committed against Thee, and do unfeignedly repent us of the same, we most humbly beseech Thee, for Jesus Christ's sake, to show Thy mercy upon us, to forgive us all our sins, and to increase Thy Holy Spirit in us, that we, acknowledging from the bottom of our hearts our own unrighteousness, may from henceforth not only mortify our sinful lusts and affections, but also bring forth such fruits as may be agreeable to Thy most blessed will, not for the worthiness thereof, but for the merits of Thy dearly beloved Son Jesus Christ our only Saviour, whom Thou hast already given, an oblation and offering for our sins, and for whose sake we are certainly persuaded that Thou wilt deny us nothing that we shall ask in His name according to Thy will. For Thy Spirit doth assure our consciences that Thou art our merciful Father, and so lovest us Thy children through Him, that nothing is able to remove Thy heavenly grace and favour from us. To Thee, therefore, O Father, with the Son and the Holy Ghost, be all honour and glory, world without end. So be it.

This done, the people sing a Psalm all together, in a plain tune: which ended, the Minister prayeth for the assistance of God's Holy Spirit, as the same shall move his heart, and so

proceedeth to the Sermon; using after the Sermon this Prayer following, or suchlike.

A PRAYER FOR THE WHOLE ESTATE OF CHRIST'S CHURCH.

ALMIGHTY GOD, and most merciful Father, we humbly submit ourselves, and fall down before thy Majesty, beseeching Thee, from the bottom of our hearts, that this seed of Thy Word now sown among us may take such deep root, that neither the burning heat of persecution cause it to wither, neither the thorny cares of this life do choke it, but that, as seed sown in good ground, it may bring forth thirty, sixty, and an hundred fold, as Thy heavenly wisdom hath appointed. And because we have need continually to crave many things at Thy hands, we humbly beseech Thee, O heavenly Father, to grant us Thine Holy Spirit to direct our petitions, that they may proceed from such a fervent mind as may be agreeable to Thy most blessed will.

And seeing that our infirmity is able to do nothing without Thy help, and that Thou art not ignorant with how many and great temptations we poor wretches are on every side enclosed and compassed, let Thy strength, O Lord, sustain our weakness, that we, being defended with the force of Thy grace, may be safely preserved against all assaults of Satan, who goeth about continually like a roaring lion, seeking to devour us. Increase our faith, O merciful Father, that we do not swerve at any time from Thy heavenly Word, but augment in us hope and love with a careful keeping of all Thy commandments, that no hardness of heart, no hypocrisy, no concupiscence of the eyes, nor enticements of the world, do draw us away from Thy obedience. And seeing we live now in these most perilous times, let Thy fatherly providence defend us against the violence of all our enemies, which do everywhere pursue us; but chiefly against the wicked rage and furious uproars of that Romish idol, enemy to Thy Christ.

Furthermore, forasmuch as by Thy holy Apostle we are taught to make our prayers and supplications for all men, we pray not only for ourselves here present, but beseech Thee also to reduce all such as be yet ignorant from the miserable captivity of blindness and error to the pure understanding of Thy heavenly truth, that we all with one consent and unity of minds may worship Thee our only God and Saviour: and that all Pastors, Shepherds, and Ministers to whom Thou hast committed the dispensation of Thy holy Word, and charge of

Thy chosen people, may both in their life and doctrine be found faithful, setting only before their eyes Thy glory, and that by them all poor sheep, which wander and go astray, may be gathered and brought home to Thy fold.

Moreover, because the hearts of rulers are in Thy hands, we beseech thee to direct and govern the hearts of all Kings, Princes, and Magistrates, to whom Thou hast committed the sword; especially, O Lord, according to our bounden duty, we beseech Thee to maintain and increase the noble estate of the King's Majesty, and his honourable Council, with all the estate and whole body of the Commonwealth. Let thy fatherly favour so preserve him, and Thy Holy Spirit so govern his heart, that he may in such sort execute his office, that Thy religion may be purely maintained, manners reformed, and sin punished, according to the precise rule of Thy holy Word.

And for that we be all members of the mystical body of Christ Jesus, we make our requests unto Thee, O heavenly Father, for all such as are afflicted with any kind of cross or tribulation, as war, plague, famine, sickness, poverty, imprisonment, persecution, banishment, or any other kind of Thy rods, whether it be grief of body or unquietness of mind; that it would please Thee to give them patience and constancy till Thou send them full deliverance [out] of all their troubles.

And finally, O Lord God, most merciful Father, we most humbly beseech Thee to show Thy great mercy upon our brethren who are persecuted, cast in prison, and daily condemned to death for the testimony of Thy truth: And though they be utterly destitute of all man's aid, yet let Thy sweet comfort never depart from them, but so inflame their hearts with Thy Holy Spirit, that they may boldly and cheerfully abide such trial as Thy godly wisdom shall appoint; so that at length, as well by their death as by their life, the kingdom of Thy Son Jesus Christ may increase and shine through all the world: In whose name we make our humble petitions unto Thee, as He hath taught us, saying, *Our Father, &c.*

ALMIGHTY and everliving God, vouchsafe, we beseech Thee, to grant us perfect continuance in Thy lively faith, augmenting the same in us daily, till we grow to the full measure of our perfection in Christ, wherof we make our Confession, saying, *I believe in God the Father Almighty, &c.*

Then the people sing a Psalm, which ended, the Minister pronounceth one of these blessings, and so the Congregation departeth.

THE Lord bless us and save us, the Lord make His face to shine upon us, and be merciful unto us ; the Lord turn His countenance towards us, and grant us His peace.

THE grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, the love of God, and the communion of the Holy Ghost, be with us all. So be it.

It shall not be necessary for the Minister daily to repeat all these things before mentioned, but, beginning with some manner of confession, to proceed to the Sermon, which ended, he either useth the Prayer for all Estates before mentioned, or else prayeth, as the Spirit of God shall move his heart, framing the same according to the time and matter which he hath entreated of.

CHAP. X. THE MANNER OF THE ADMINISTRATION OF THE LORD'S SUPPER.

The day when the Lord's Supper is ministered, which is commonly used once a month, or so oft as the Congregation shall think expedient, the Minister useth to say as follows :—

LET us mark, dear brethren, and consider how Jesus Christ did ordain unto us His holy Supper, according as St. Paul maketh rehearsal in the eleventh chapter of the First Epistle to the Corinthians, saying, "I have received of the Lord that which I have delivered unto you, to wit, That the Lord Jesus, the same night that He was betrayed, took bread ; and when He had given thanks, He brake it, saying, Take ye, eat ye ; this is my body, which is broken for you : do ye this in remembrance of Me. Likewise after Supper, He took the cup, saying, This cup is the New Testament, or Covenant, in my blood ; do ye this, so oft as ye shall drink thereof, in remembrance of Me : For as oft as ye shall eat this bread, and drink of this cup, ye shall declare the Lord's death until His coming. Therefore, whosoever shall eat this bread, and drink of the cup of the Lord, unworthily, he shall be guilty of the body and blood of the Lord. Then see that every man prove and try himself, and so let him eat of this bread, and drink of this cup ; for whosoever eateth or drinketh unworthily, he eateth and drinketh his own damnation, for not having due regard and consideration of the Lord's body."

This done, the Minister proceedeth to the Exhortation.

DEARLY beloved in the Lord, forasmuch as we be now assembled to celebrate the Holy Communion of the body and blood of our Saviour Christ, let us consider these words of St. Paul, how he exhorteth all persons diligently to try and examine

themselves before they presume to eat of that bread, and to drink of that cup; for as the benefit is great, if, with a true penitent heart and lively faith, we receive that holy Sacrament (for then we spiritually eat the flesh of Christ and drink His blood, then we dwell in Christ, and Christ in us, we be one with Christ, and Christ with us), so is the danger great if we receive the same unworthily, for then we be guilty of the body and blood of Christ our Saviour, we eat and drink our own damnation, not considering the Lord's body, we kindle God's wrath against us, and provoke Him to plague us with divers diseases and sundry kinds of death.

And therefore, in the name and authority of the eternal God, and of His Son Jesus Christ, I excommunicate from this Table all blasphemers of God, all idolaters, all murderers, all adulterers, all that be in malice or envy; all disobedient persons to father or mother, Princes or Magistrates, Pastors or Preachers; all thieves and deceivers of their neighbours; and, finally, all such as live a life directly fighting against the will of God: charging them, as they will answer in the presence of Him who is the righteous Judge, that they presume not to profane this most holy Table. And yet this I pronounce not, to seclude any penitent person, how grievous soever his sins before have been, so that he feel in his heart unfeigned repentance for the same; but only such as continue in sin without repentance. Neither yet is this pronounced against such as aspire to a greater perfection than they can in this present life attain unto; for, albeit we feel in ourselves much frailty and wretchedness, as that we have not our faith so perfect and constant as we ought, being many times ready to distrust God's goodness through our corrupt nature; and also that we are not so thoroughly given to serve God, neither have so fervent a zeal to set forth His glory, as our duty requireth, feeling still such rebellion in ourselves, that we have need daily to fight against the lusts of our flesh; yet nevertheless, seeing that our Lord hath dealt thus mercifully with us, that He hath printed His Gospel in our hearts, so that we are preserved from falling into desperation and misbelief; and seeing also that He hath endued us with a will and desire to renounce and withstand our own affections, with a longing for His righteousness and the keeping of His commandments, we may be now right well assured, that those defaults and manifold imperfections in us shall be no hindrance at all against us, to cause Him not to accept and impute us as worthy to come to His spiritual Table: For the

end of our coming thither is not to make protestation that we are upright or just in our lives ; but contrariwise, we come to seek our life and perfection in Jesus Christ, acknowledging in the mean time that we of ourselves be the children of wrath and damnation

Let us consider, then, that this Sacrament is a singular medicine for all poor sick creatures, a comfortable help to weak souls, and that our Lord requireth no other worthiness on our part, but that we unfeignedly acknowledge our naughtiness and imperfection. Then, to the end that we may be worthy partakers of His merits, and most comfortable benefits, which is the true eating of His flesh and drinking of His blood, let us not suffer our minds to wander about the consideration of these earthly and corruptible things (which we see present to our eyes, and feel with our hands), to seek Christ bodily present in them, as if He were enclosed in the bread and wine, or as if these elements were turned and changed into the substance of His flesh and blood ; for the only way to dispose our souls to receive nourishment, relief, and quickening of His substance, is to lift up our minds by faith above all things worldly and sensible, and thereby to enter into heaven, that we may find and receive Christ, where He dwelleth undoubtedly very God and very Man, in the incomprehensible glory of His Father, to Whom be all praise, honour, and glory, now and ever. Amen.

The exhortation ended, the Minister cometh down from the Pulpit, and sitteth at the Table, every man and woman in like wise taking their place as occasion best serveth ; Then he taketh bread, and giveth thanks, either in these words following, or like in effect :—

O FATHER of mercy, and God of all consolation, seeing all creatures do acknowledge and confess Thee as Governor and Lord, it becometh us, the workmanship of Thine own hands, at all times to reverence and magnify Thy godly Majesty, first, for that Thou hast created us to Thine own image and similitude, but chiefly because Thou hast delivered us from that everlasting death and damnation into the which Satan drew mankind, by the mean of sin, from the bondage whereof neither man nor angel was able to make us free, but Thou, O Lord, rich in mercy, and infinite in goodness, hast provided our redemption to stand in Thine only and well-beloved Son, whom of very love Thou didst give to be made Man like unto us, in all things, sin except, that in His body He might receive the punishment of our transgression, by His death to make

satisfaction to Thy justice, and by His resurrection to destroy him that was author of death, and so to bring again life to the world, from which all the whole offspring of Adam most justly was exiled.

O Lord, we acknowledge that no creature is able to comprehend the length and breadth, the deepness and height of that Thy most excellent love, which moved Thee to show mercy where none was deserved, to promise and give life where death had gotten the victory, to receive us into Thy grace when we could do nothing but rebel against Thy justice. O Lord, the blind dullness of our corrupt nature will not suffer us sufficiently to weigh those Thy most ample benefits; yet, nevertheless, at the commandment of Jesus Christ our Lord, we present ourselves to this His Table, which He hath left to be used in remembrance of His death, until His coming again, to declare and witness before the world, that by Him alone we have received liberty and life, that by Him alone Thou dost acknowledge us Thy children and heirs, that by Him alone we have entrance to the throne of Thy grace, that by Him alone we are possessed in our spiritual Kingdom, to eat and drink at His Table, with whom we have our conversation presently in heaven, and by whom our bodies shall be raised up again from the dust, and shall be placed with Him in that endless joy, which Thou, O Father of mercy, hast prepared for Thine Elect before the foundation of the world was laid. And these most inestimable benefits we acknowledge and confess to have received of Thy free mercy and grace, by Thine only beloved Son Jesus Christ, for the which therefore, we Thy congregation, moved by Thy Holy Spirit, render Thee all thanks, praise, and glory, for ever and ever. Amen.

This done, the Minister breaketh the bread, and delivereth it to the people, who distribute and divide the same amongst themselves, according to our Saviour Christ's commandment, and likewise giveth the cup: During the which time some place of the Scriptures is read, which doth lively set forth the death of Christ, to the intent that our eyes and senses may not only be occupied in these outward signs of bread and wine, which are called the visible word, but that our hearts and minds also may be fully fixed in the contemplation of the Lord's death, which is by this holy Sacrament represented. And after this action is done, he giveth thanks, saying,

Most merciful Father, we render to Thee all praise, thanks, and glory for that it hath pleased Thee of Thy great mercies to

grant unto us, miserable sinners, so excellent a gift and treasure, as to receive us into the fellowship and company of Thy dear Son Jesus Christ our Lord, whom Thou deliveredst to death for us, and hast given Him unto us as a necessary food and nourishment unto everlasting life. And now we beseech [Thee] also, O heavenly Father, to grant us this request, that Thou never suffer us to become so unkind as to forget so worthy benefits, but rather imprint and fasten them sure in our hearts, that we may grow and increase daily more and more in true faith, which continually is exercised in all manner of good works, and so much the rather, O Lord, confirm us in these perilous days and rages of Satan, that we may constantly stand and continue in the confession of the same, to the advancement of Thy glory, who art God over all things, blessed for ever. So be it.

The action thus ended, the people sing the 103rd Psalm, My soul give laud, &c., or some other of thanksgiving, which ended, one of the blessings before mentioned is recited, and so they rise from the Table and depart.

WHY THIS ORDER IS OBSERVED RATHER THAN ANY OTHER.

IF so be that any would marvel why we follow rather this Order than any other, in the administration of this Sacrament, let him diligently consider that first of all we utterly renounce the error of the Papists; secondly, we restore unto the Sacrament his [its] own substance, and to Christ His proper place. And as for the words of the Lord's Supper, we rehearse them, not because they should change the substance of the bread or wine, or that the repetition thereof, with the intent of the sacrificer, should make the Sacrament, as the Papists falsely believe, but they are read and pronounced to teach us how to behave ourselves in that action, and that Christ might witness unto our faith, as it were with His own mouth, that He hath ordained these signs to our spiritual use and comfort; we do, first, therefore, examine ourselves, according to St. Paul's rule, and prepare our minds, that we may be worthy partakers of so high mysteries; then, taking bread, we give thanks, break and distribute it as Christ our Saviour hath taught us; finally, the administration ended, we give thanks again according to His example, so that without His word and warrant there is nothing in this holy action attempted.

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- Nos. 1, 2, 6, 7, 8, 11, 12, 13, 19 in W. Köhler, *Dokumente zum Ablassstreit von 1517* (Leipzig, 1902).
- No. 5, in F. G. Stokes, *Epistolae Obscurorum Virorum: the Latin text with an English rendering and an historical introduction* (Chatto & Windus, 1909).
- No. 27, in Otto Seitz, *Der authentische Text der Leipziger Disputation* (Berlin, 1903).
- No. 64, in *Die Wittenberger und Leisniger Kastenordnung* (No. 21 of Lietzmann's *Kleine Texte für Theologische Vorlesungen*; Bonn, 1907, 6d.).
- No. 66, in *Martin Luthers Formula Missae et Communions* (*Kleine Texte*, No. 36; 6d.).
- No. 67, in *Martin Luthers Geistliche Lieder* (*Kleine Texte*, Nos. 24, 25, 6d.).
- No. 83, in *Urkunden zur Geschichte des Bauernkrieges und der Wiedertäufer* (*Kleine Texte*, Nos. 50, 51, 8d.).
- No. 95, in *Martin Luthers Deutsche Messe* (*Kleine Texte*, No. 37, 4d.).
- No. 107 in J. Ney, *Die Appellation und Protestation der Evangelischen Stände auf dem Reichstage zu Speier*, 1529, pp. 50 sq., 58 sq. (Leipzig, 1906).

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